This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

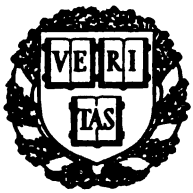
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

WIDENER LIBRARY
HX G4WL .

Afr 810.3.3

HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY



FROM THE
Subscription Fund
BEGUN IN 1858

VILLAGE IN THE SWAMPS WHERE THE VESSELS WERE ATTACKED.

NARRATIVE

OF

AN EXPEDITION

INTO THE

INTERIOR OF AFRICA,

BY THE RIVER NIGER,

IN THE STEAM-VESSELS QUORRA AND ALBURKAH,

IN 1832, 1833, AND 1834.

BY

MACGREGOR LAIRD AND R. A. K. OLDFIELD,

SURVIVING OFFICERS OF THE EXPEDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

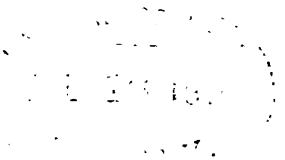
LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1837.

Afr 810.3.3



Subscription fund

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,
Dorset Street, Fleet Street.

CONTENTS

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

MR. OLDFIELD'S JOURNAL

(CONTINUED).

CHAPTER VII.

Fundah and Bassa Canoes.—Oruka.—Mount Pleasant.—Lander's Seat.—Re-enter the Niger.—Bangedy.—Native Superstition.—Adomah, Agongo, and Ezefo.—Assenny.—Addapah.—Cuttum-Curaffee.—The King's Fool.—Abbafooh, Agoodah, Kakkarah—Whalee.—Bacbagee.—Hegagee.—Accabooh.—Ofooh.—Leylan.—Atchebah.—Hedgickee.—Apecteko.—Angwah.—Accoshee.—Barker's Mountain. Page 1

CHAPTER VIII.

A Female Patient.—Felatah Depredations.—Kacundah.—Addaodelooh.—Hackoree.—Gowah.—Gonguah.—Habuka.—Mallams.—Eggaginee.—Lufomah.—Addoh.—Akelamy.—Haygogee.—Arrival at Egga.—Native Patients.—Ederesa.—Departure from Egga.—Anchor off Fofo. . . 20

CHAPTER IX.

First Interview with Felatahs.—Rennell's Range.—Lose a Canoe.—Anchor off Abbafooh.—Accabooh.—Dougnoh.—

Barrow's Mount, and Graham's Mountains. — Hippopotami. —Kuta. — Canoes from Rabbah.— Modes of Salutation.— River Scenery. — Mount Forsyth. — Tchange City. — Zagoshie.—Arrive and Anchor off Rabbah.—Land at Rabbah.— Interview with the Sultan Osiman.—Visit the various Chiefs of Rabbah. — Trading commenced. — Visit the Sultan's Daughter.—Land at Zagoshie. . . . Page 41

CHAPTER X.

Apartments hired at Rabbah.—Filthiness of the Town.— Intercourse with the Sultan and People of Rabbah.—Death of Mallam Dendo and the Sultan's Sister. — Difficulty in trading. — Extraordinary Notion of the Natives concerning White Men. — Thoughts of going to Boossa relinquished.— Medical Aid in request. — A Description of Rabbah, and some Account of the Felatahs, their Trade, Manners, and Customs. 65

CHAPTER XI.

Depart for the Sea.—A Tornado.—The Sultan's Tax-gatherers. — Surgical aid in request.— Land at Egga— Trade there.—The Market at Egga.—The Mallam.—The Smith's Forge.—Depart from Egga.—Anchor off Ibbodoh (Kacundah). — Cuttum-Curaffee. — Addacoodah. — Bocqua Market. —Iddah.—Visit from Abboka.—Interview with Attah—His Generalship. — Native Ingenuity in Trading. — Purchase of English Island from Abboka.—Formal Visit to Attah—His Character.—Mr. Brown left on English Island. . 98

CHAPTER XII.

Depart from Iddah.—The River Ado.—River Scenery of the Quorra.—Anchor off Kirree.—Distrust of the Natives.—

Arrive at Eboe.—Avarice and Artifice of Obie.—News of the other Vessels of the Expedition.—Adizetta.—Tricks upon the Natives.—Appearance of King Boy.—Cross the Bar of the Nun.—Difficulties of the Voyage to Fernando Po.—Relieved by the Quorra Steam Vessel.—Arrival at the Island.

Page 135

CHAPTER XIII.

Arrangements concluded for revisiting the Niger.—Depart from Fernando Po.—Difficulties of the Voyage to the Coast. —Enter the Adony River.—Visit Bonny.—Meet the Quorra. —Mr. Lander leaves for Cape Coast.—The Alburkah proceeds up the Nun.—Difficulties of River Navigation.—Illness of some of the Crew.—Inglammah.—Anchor off Eboe. —Atchimary—Deception of the Chief of this Town.—Want of Oil for the Engine.—Prepare for leaving the Vessel. 155

CHAPTER XIV.

Proceed up the River in a Boat.—Value of an Old Friend. —Hints on Trade.—Meet Abboka, the King of Iddah's Brother.—Meeting of Al Hadge and his Master.—Arrive at Iddah in the Boat.—Visit Attah.—Friendly communications with the King.—Return to the Alburkah—Mortality on board.—Despatches sent to the Sea-coast. . . 177

CHAPTER XV.

The Alburkah again under weigh.—An Anchor lost.—Death of the Mate.—Difficulties of ascending the River.—Arrival at Iddah.—Motives of the Expedition suspected.—Rumours of Plots against the Vessel. . . . 202

CHAPTER XVI.

Articles of Commerce agreed on and signed.—Ceremony on the occasion.—Procession of Females.—The King's Fool. —Demand for Presents. — Stock of Trading Articles exhausted. —Rains.—First Rumours of Lander's Attack. — Cruelties of Attah. — Origin of an African War. — Further Plots against the Vessel.—Precautions adopted. Page 229

CHAPTER XVII.

Friendly Behaviour of Abboka, the Brother of Attah. — Message to the King. — Difficulty in obtaining Provisions. — Visit from the Queen.—Demand for Slaves at the Market.— The River commences swelling. — Funeral Procession. — Felatahs' Rapacity. — Rainy Season commences. — Letter from Richard Lander, relating the Attack on him by the Natives.—Superstition of the King's Brother.—Determine to proceed up the River. 262

CHAPTER XVIII.

Departure from Iddah.—The Alburkah aground.—Hostility of the Natives.—Death of the Carpenter, William Miller. —Proceed up the River.—Difficulties of Navigation.—Arrive at Iccory Market, the Bocqua of Lander.—Bird Rock.—Intercourse and Trade with the Natives. . . . 293

CHAPTER XIX.

Proceed to Addacoodah.—Visit from Mallam Catab.—The Felatahs' Attack on Boossa.—Visit the King of Addacoodah. —Toto City — Some Notice of it. —Visit Iccory Market.— Account of African Market. — Character of the Natives —

Their distinguishing Marks.—Return to Addacoodah.—Preparations for returning down the River.—An Anchor lost. Page 307

CHAPTER XX.

Stop at Iddah.—Get aground.—Return down the River.—Arrive at Eboe.—Pass down the Benin Branch by mistake.—Pass Hyammah.—Hostility of the Natives.—Arrive at King Boy's Barracoon.—Letter from Colonel Nicolls.—Cross the Bar of the Nun.—Voyage to Fernando Po.—Return to England.—A Boat picked up on the Passage.—Safe Arrival. 333

REMARKS ON OUR COMMERCE WITH AFRICA.

General Reflections on our Trade with Africa.—Its nature and extent.—Capital employed.—The Slave Trade.—Its baneful effects on Commerce.—The system of Head-money.—Plan for suppressing the Slave Trade.—Relations between Great Britain and Africa.—Duty of this Country towards Africa.—The great Advantages considered that would result from the total Abolition of the Slave Trade, and Free Trade with Africa established in its stead.—Comparisons.—A commercial Government recommended, and outline of the Plan proposed for it. 353

CONCLUSION.

Plan recommended for trading with Central Africa. 401

APPENDIX.

Meteorological Register. 415
Vocabulary. 421

NARRATIVE.

MR. OLDFIELD'S JOURNAL

(CONTINUED).

CHAPTER VII.

Fundah and Bassa Canoes.—Oruka.—Mount Pleasant.—Lander's Seat.—Re-enter the Niger.—Bangedy.—Native Superstition.—Adomah, Agongo, and Ezefo.—Assenny.—Addapah.—Cuttum-Curaffee.—The King's Fool.—Abbafooh, Agoodah, Kakkarah.—Whalee.—Bachagee.—Hegagee.—Accabooh.—Ofooh.—Leylan.—Atchebah.—Hedgickee.—Apecteko.—Angwah.—Accoshee.—Barker's Mountain.

THE morning of the 17th of August was showery, and was passed in anxious expectation of the arrival of the horses at the water-side. At about 2 P. M. we were given to understand that the king was afraid to give us an audience, having never seen a white man.

A circumstance occurred in the evening which at one time threatened fatal consequences.

Whilst the messengers from Oruka were on board, two canoes, a large one and a smaller one, came alongside of the Alburkah with some Fundah traders, and after remaining a short time, departed for Beeshee market. Soon afterwards we observed a large Bassa canoe in pursuit of them, and in a few minutes several more joined in the chase, the natives in them paddling with all their strength. The Fundah canoes were rapidly leaving their pursuers, when a violent tornado came on, and for a short time concealed the canoes from our view. When it cleared up, the Fundah canoes had lost ground, and their enemies were gaining fast on them. The former, seeing their danger, put about, and plying their paddles with surprising vigour, made directly towards the Alburkah. The Bassa people, perceiving this manœuvre, slackened their exertions, and the Fundah canoe now came alongside of the Alburkah, the people completely breathless and exhausted, and most of them so terrified that they trembled from head to foot. The Bassa people were standing in their canoes, using their long paddles with uncommon skill; and in the midst of them stood their armed bowmen, with their arrows pointed

at the Fundah canoe. Soon after the latter came alongside, the Bassa people brought up theirs near it, in a line parallel to the vessel, the bowmen still having their arrows fixed. Their pursuers being now nearly by their side, and in the attitude of dealing death among them, the terror of the Fundah people was even greater than before, and their principal man darted up the side of the Alburkah, and in the utmost distress of mind besought our protection. It was judged expedient to give it, and the Fundah people were allowed to come on board, with permission to go down the river with us in the morning, or to depart under cover of the night. They chose the latter plan, and I have reason to think effected their escape. I have since heard that the canoes belonged to the king of Fundah, and that the people represented to the king that had it not been for the protection of the white men, they would all have been taken prisoners and killed. The king expressed himself much pleased at our interference.

In the afternoon, went ashore with Lieut. Allen for observations. The soil is sandy, and in some parts we found it composed of rich black mould. I saw several patches of culti-

vated ground on which corn and yams were growing. The town of Oruka is larger than I expected to find it, and most of the natives that we saw wore skins; others were dressed in tobes and cloth, and the generality of them were armed with bows and arrows. I noticed a mill for grinding corn. Seeing two pigs, we offered to purchase one, but were refused, on the very reasonable grounds that it was not right to separate the husband from the wife, or the wife from the husband! We observed plenty of goats, sheep, and poultry; and several beautiful birds with black wings and beaks, and bodies of bright crimson, particularly attracted our attention. A large tree of the Macadania or Shea butter was also to us a very remarkable object. The nut in which the butter is contained is about the size of a large walnut, or a little larger: the fruit is ripe shortly after the rains in October and November. But the most remarkable object we saw was a gigantic ant-hill, constructed of red sand. I measured the height of it and found it sixteen feet, and the diameter was about seven feet. It was surmounted by copings resembling the turrets of a castle, or the buttresses of a cathedral.

In the evening two Mallams came on board and repeated sentences or prayers from the Koran.

The next day, our interpreter not having returned, we became apprehensive that he had been detained by the king in consequence of our facilitating the escape of the Fundah people the previous night. However, towards noon he returned from Corracu, and stated that the distance to the town where the king resides is very considerable. He brought word that a kafila of merchants from the east, with camels, asses, &c. were in the town. His majesty sent a sheep, fowls, eggs, &c. and an apology for having omitted to send horses; alleging as his reason for not doing so, that since he had no ivory for sale, he was desirous of saving us the trouble of taking so long a journey. This was not unreasonable on the part of the king; but he would no doubt have been glad enough to sell us slaves. Our interpreter was a fine youth of more than six feet high, named Abboo, and had himself been sold by his own brother for thirty thousand cowries (about 25*s.* sterling): he had been received on board the Alburkah, and was sent ashore the day before to cut wood, since which we had not seen him.

Towards noon it appeared that the king had changed his mind, for we saw horses by the water-side waiting for us. But we were determined on going down the river: the steam was nearly up, and we were soon after under weigh. Roose and Jones, two of our men, were taken ill. At 12. 40, we passed between two islands, which were named "The Sisters:" we likewise passed a small mount, to which we gave the name of Mount Pleasant. At 5. 25 P. M. we came to an anchor abreast of Acaitah and the Fundah branch. The current was about two miles per hour, and our course was north-west by west.

About noon, on the 19th of August, we got under weigh and continued down the river. In many places the river is very shallow: yesterday we were surprised to find that it had fallen nearly ten inches,* and much earlier than Mr. Lander expected. This convinced us that we had no time to lose in returning, as we were running the risk of lying aground for a few months.

We passed several towns in the course of the day; and near Yummahah, which we also passed, are some rocks forming a kind of ladder of vol-

* This fall was not permanent.

canic formation. Our general rate of sailing was four knots per hour, with a current in our favour of two knots and a half. The little river Ocqua is about one hundred and fifty yards wide, and falls into the Tchadda below the town of Acaitah. Potingah, the port of Fundah, is seated on its bank. A few canoes came off with eggs, yams, &c. but they demanded a most exorbitant price for them. A tooth was likewise brought for sale which had been several times on board before, but was not purchased, on account of its being broken. The natives had resorted to a method which would not have disgraced a London ring-dropper. By dint of scouring, the tooth had been changed from a dingy brown to a beautiful white, and was carefully wrapped up in matting, and bound round with the bark of a tree. This was to give it the appearance of having come a considerable distance; but the deceit did not succeed.

At 3. 45, we anchored off Obofoh, abreast of Frenchwood. Thermometer, 85; night, 66. Above this place is a mount, about twelve hundred feet in length and two hundred high, which was named Lander's Seat. Abreast of it is also an island of considerable beauty,

covered with rich verdure, which was called Hancit's Island.

At about nine on the morning of the 20th we got under weigh; and I was sorry to be obliged to add the names of Smith the engineer, Yarriba, George, and Lilly to the sick-list. A little before noon, once more we entered the Niger, having explored the Tchadda to a distance of one hundred and four miles from its confluence; abreast of which is a little hill, named by the natives Mount Pasahr. Passed Mount Stirling and the island off it, which is nearly covered with water. At this place three white men, a Krooman, and old Pascoe were interred.

We passed a small village or halting-place for the canoes, called by the natives a *zongah* where a temporary stay is usually made in going to or returning from market. At 12. 45, we anchored off a small, miserable, and ill-looking town, named Bangedy, situate on the left bank of the river, the natives of which appeared squalid and disgusting. On landing we found some of the natives engaged in preparing beer from the Dower-corn, boiling it in large pots, each containing nearly six gallons. The natives of Bangedy also manufacture a red paint from a

wood of the same colour, brought from the Eboe country, where it is used in staining their bodies, and is considered to be *maghony* (medicine), having a strengthening quality. From this place a magnificent prospect presented itself, formed by the majestic Kong Mountains, with the valley lying between Mount William and the dark foreground of Mount Stirling: the whole scenery in this part is extremely picturesque and beautiful. During the last few days I had been very unwell, but I was now much recovered. We had very heavy rain the greater part of the night, the wind blowing hard from south-south-east. Ahead of us was a range of hills bearing east from our anchorage.

At 6. 35 A. M. we got under weigh for Cuttum-Curaffee. Since regaining the Niger we have not felt that disagreeable sensation which we so often experienced in the Tchadda, proceeding from empty stomachs! Yesterday two fine sheep and several goats were brought and offered for sale. Mallam Catab came on board with a dash, being desirous of purchasing some paper; an article of great demand among the Mallams, by whom it is used for writing charms upon. He appeared astonished at Abboo's escape, and pro-

mised to make some inquiries after him. The cunning fellow wanted some goods on credit, but did not obtain any.

As we were proceeding on our course, a small canoe came alongside, containing an old woman, the mother of a man of colour named John Thomas, who had acted in the capacity of steward on board the Quorra. She had a small quantity of fish with her. We did not stay for her, but threw her a trifling dash into her canoe; at which the old lady appeared very much hurt, and began to cry most piteously. She had been with the steamers when they were aground, and usually supplied them with fish. Mr. Lander, feeling hurt at her situation, determined to re-conduct her to Egga (Nufie country), which was her native land, as soon as we returned thither.

A circumstance occurred to this poor woman which is strongly characteristic of the blind superstition of the natives in this part of Africa. This poor creature imagined that she possessed a *maghony* (charm) which rendered her invulnerable to all edge-tools and cutting instruments. So positive and convinced was she of the efficacy of her charm, that she voluntarily assented to hold her leg whilst some person should strike

it with an axe. The king (or chief) of her town, on hearing this, determined to try the power of her charm, and desired a man to take an axe, and see whether this wonderful *maghony* would protect her from its effects; considering that if it did so, such a charm would be of great advantage in war. Her leg was laid on a block, and a powerful blow given below the knee, the result of which was as might have been expected. To the poor woman's great horror, and the terror of all present, her leg flew to the other side of the room. But she survived it, and now crawled about on her knees. I determined on making application at Fernando Po for a wooden one for the poor creature, as soon as we returned.

At 9 A. M. we passed a small town situate on the south side of the river. The banks are lined with beautiful and luxuriant trees, several of which are in blossom. By the marks on some of the trees, it appeared that the river had yet to rise thirteen feet.

We passed a town on the east side named Adomah, and another on the opposite bank called Agongo, and soon after passed a third, named Ezefo. There are several sandbanks uncovered on each side of the river, and we passed one a

mile and a quarter in width. On the east side of this is a town named Assugan, which was concealed from our view by the intervening islands. At 11 o'clock we ran aground abreast of some palm-trees, and did not clear the shoal until nearly four in the afternoon. An hour after extricating ourselves, we passed Assenny, a small town lying on the eastern bank of the river. At the foot of a mountain leading into the main branch from Assugan, on the left, is a large dye-pit, used for dyeing clothes with indigo. At 4. 45, we entered the main branch of the river. The direction of this last reach was about north. We immediately entered another, running in a north-easterly direction.

At one time we were completely encircled by mountains, the river flowing as if in a valley between them, and imparting a highly picturesque effect to the landscape.

At 5 P. M. we passed Attakankee, a town consisting of about two hundred huts, several of them built of a quadrangular form. Palm-trees were still to be seen in abundance, but smaller and more stunted in their growth than those seen at the sea-side.

At 6. 10, P. M. we anchored near a village

named Addapah; Cuttum-Curaffee being situated inland, on the side of a mountain which overlooks Addapah. The chief of this place is styled Sullikeen Kofoh, or "The King of the Gate," where, like our toll-bars in England, a small duty is exacted.

During our stay at this anchorage I had been labouring under a distressing headach, and my old complaint, intermittent.

The King of Cuttum-Curaffee had been indebted to Mr. Lander two hundred and eighty thousand cowries, of which he had paid all except forty thousand, and instead of these he now sent him a bullock. This was considerably more than Mr. Lander ever expected to receive. The king wished us to go to Cuttum-Curaffee with goods, distant a few miles, but time would not allow it. From this place there is a most splendid view of the Kong Mountains, the chain of which assumed a westerly direction. Cuttum-Curaffee lies at the foot, or nearly so, of one of the mountains, and about four miles from the river-side.

In the course of the time that we lay here, the king's drummer came on board. He played on a drum, which he held under his left arm, by beat-

ing it with a stick in his right hand. Stones or something of that nature were inside the drum, and imparted a sort of hoarse, buzzing noise. He accompanied his music with all kinds of antics and grimaces, and continued uttering in a shrill voice, "Baturee suffee, baturee suffee, baturee suffee; baturee yazakei, baturee yazakei,—yazakei, yazakei:" which, when interpreted, we found meant, "White men go, white men go, white men go; white men come, white men come,—they are come, they are come." We were completely convulsed with laughter at this man's drolleries, and in truth he would have proved a very dangerous rival to any merry-andrew at Bartholomew Fair. His expression of countenance was extremely ridiculous. His mouth extended from ear to ear, his lips were much thicker than those of any other native I had seen, and his eyes appeared to be of unequal size; while his nose resembled a bridge, stretching from one cheek-bone to the other. An automaton soldier was suddenly shown to him in the midst of his merriment; and had a thunderbolt fallen at his feet, he could not have been more terrified. When the arms and legs of the figure were put in motion, he fell prostrate on the deck; sweeping it

with his hands, and then putting them over his head as if in the act of throwing sand on it, in token of submission and respect to the wooden figure before him: and so great was his terror, that it was some time before he could be prevailed on to rise from his respectful posture.

Our interpreter went to the town by land, and returned in a canoe: a creek communicates with the town out of the Niger.

In the afternoon of the 26th of August, we got under weigh. Our course lay in a northerly direction, as we passed a town on the right bank named Abbafooh, another named Agoodah, and a third termed Kakarah. The people of these towns, we were told, live by pillage, plundering all the canoes they meet with. The King of Attah sent his war-canoes, took them by surprise at night, and destroyed one of their towns by setting fire to it, and it is now a heap of ruins. When we came abreast of Whalee, a large town lying on the eastern bank of the river, an immense number of natives were continually running along the banks to look at the vessel. This reach lay about north-north-west.

We halted at 6. 45 P. M. near a town named Bacbagee, situate on the left bank of the river,

which here forms a kind of bay. The huts being cone-shaped and remarkably neat, impart to the town a very pleasing appearance. As soon as the anchor was dropped, the chief sent us a present of a goat. In the course of the day we passed several islands, and got out of the main branch of the river.

On the following morning I went ashore; but, as is usually the case, so many people followed me, that it was impossible to proceed any distance. I visited the chief on board, who, I found, paid tribute to the King of Cuttum-Curaffee. His name is Quaggee. He is a man rather advanced in years, and of a pleasing and conciliating appearance. His residence is composed of five huts, ranged in a circular form, overhung with large cotton-trees, in the branches of which several hundreds of rice-birds have constructed their nests. The houses are shaken by every breath of wind, without endangering their security.—To the westward are the Kong mountains, still extending in the same direction. Above Bacbagee is a town named Egginebah.

Mr. Lander considered himself obliged to punish Yarriba George, a man of colour, who derives his name from Yarriba, his native country, with

three dozen lashes, for stealing flints; and Geffrey Fireman, who was put in irons as his accomplice, was liberated.

At 1 P. M. we got under weigh, our course running north-north-west. Passed a town situate on the right bank of the river, called Hegagee. At 2. 30 P. M. we passed another, named Pundah, lying on the opposite bank. Immediately above this place is the mouth of a small river, said to have its rise in the Tchadda, near Beeshee. We passed a town named Accabooh, situate on the left bank; also another, lying near a point on the right. The name of the latter town was Amoee. This last reach ran due north.

At 3. 25 P. M. we were abreast of a village named Ofooh, situate on the right bank of the river. From the appearance of several of the trees, the river had as yet to make a considerable rise; some marks indicating as much as sixteen feet above the level. We found a great number of sandbanks remaining uncovered.

From the great number of towns that we passed, I am inclined to suppose that the population must be very great indeed. No sooner does the traveller come in sight of one town, than

he discovers three or four, and sometimes five others. The natives were seen in every direction, in crowds as thick together as on market-days in England, gazing at us with the greatest astonishment. The country was covered with shrubs and trees, of rich and beautiful foliage. On the east side, as far as the eye could extend, regular rows of palm-trees were seen; while on both sides were wide, extensive plains. The Nufie country lay on the eastern side of the river. Bacbagee was the last town passed in the territory of Cuttum-Curaffee. The Kacundah or Ibbodah country, which is very extensive, still extends along the western side of the river. To the right of us was the village of Leylan; and nearly opposite, on the left, a large town, named Atchebah.

At 3. 40 P. M. we passed a town on the right bank, named Hedgickee; another on the left, named Apecteko; and two others on the opposite side, Angwah and Accoshee. At 3. 50 passed the mouth of a small river on the right, bearing south-west; likewise Omay, the capital of several large towns.

Since leaving Cuttum-Curaffee the river has varied from half a mile to a mile and three-quarters in width, and at this part it is nearly

a mile across. Passed two towns on the left bank: wind, west-south-west. At 5. 50, we came to an anchor off Leylan, where the high range of the Kong Mountains terminates. The mountain bounding the range stands alone and isolated, and approaching nearly to the water's edge. Near the summit it is thickly wooded. It had a fine majestic appearance, and was named Barker's Mountain.

CHAPTER VIII.

A Female Patient.—Felatah Depredations.—Kacundah.—Addaodelooh.—Hackoree.—Gowah.—Gonguah.—Habuka. Mallams.—Eggaginee.—Lufomah.—Addoh.—Ahelamy.—Haygogee.—Arrival at Egga.—Native Patients.—Ederesa.—Departure from Egga.—Anchor off Fofo.

On the morning of the 28th of August several large canoes came alongside, the natives in them being extremely anxious to see the white men. Many of them kept moving round the vessel, or rested on their paddles; while others who were more wealthy, as a passport on board, brought dashes or presents of eggs, fowl, and fish. They were doubly satisfied; for, in addition to being allowed to examine our features and the colour of our skin, they received presents of needles, snuff-boxes, looking-glasses, and we invariably returned more than an equivalent for their presents. A little ivory was purchased from them.

A respectable native, from whom we had pro-

cured many teeth, brought his sister to me, who was suffering from extensive ulceration of the left cornea, and inflammation of the coats of the right eye. Five months previously she had felt a smarting pain in that part; since which time, from being irritated, it had become inflamed, and had ultimately terminated in ulceration. I stated to Mr. Lander that I could give her lotions, but that they would only afford her temporary relief; and he kindly proposed that she should remain on board under my care. To my surprise, her brother assented to the proposal; and just before we got under weigh, a large canoe with pullaboy slaves came alongside, bringing a young female as an attendant upon the patient. It was extremely gratifying to us to observe this confidence in us, who were almost entire strangers to them; for, from being every moment liable to be carried into captivity, they naturally become extremely suspicious of those whose persons and designs are unknown to them. The attendant was about ten years of age, and her entire clothing consisted of a leather cord, containing a few charms, tied around her loins.

We passed several large canoes heavily laden with dried grass for thatching and rebuilding the

houses at Kacundah lately destroyed by the Felatahs. The reach we were in lay north-north-west. At 10½ A. M. we experienced a heavy tornado, which was followed by a thick fog, when we anchored abreast of a town named Rigadoh. Kacundah is surrounded by a morass, bearing from our anchorage south-south-west: the town appeared to be large and capacious; the natives were busily employed in rebuilding their ruined habitations. We passed an immense number of huts erected on a sandbank a little south of the town, whither the natives fled on the approach of the Felatahs. This people seldom if ever cross the river to surprise the natives on the opposite bank, as their cavalry could not be immediately embarked, having no canoes. On the approach of the Felatah army the only chance of escape that remains for the natives is to retreat to the sandbanks, where the river is only a few hundred yards wide; and in their temporarily-erected houses of mats, they await the retreat of their enemies, who almost invariably leave their town burning behind them.

I had been very much indisposed during the last few days, and in the nights neither Mr. Lander nor myself had been able to obtain a

moment's rest, in consequence of the mosquitoes, millions of which annoyed us in every part of our bodies. The engineer being ill with chronic inflammation of the liver, we were prevented from reaching Rabbah as expeditiously as we could have wished. His loss was much dreaded, as there was no one to succeed him, except Johnson, a Sierra Leone black. Our engineer, Smith, was a native of the Bermudas, and he left England with us as second fireman: the deaths had elevated him to his present position.

The schoolmaster with whom the Messrs. Landers had stayed on their journey down from Boussa came on board, and appeared quite surprised to see Mr. Lander, one of the white men he had so hospitably entertained. Having sent a dash to the King of Kacundah, he sent us in return a fine milch goat and some yams. We were informed that fourteen hundred of his subjects were made prisoners, and sold, in the late excursion of the Felatahs.

Since our arrival, we purchased a little ivory. During our stay, the strength of the current was so great, and the holding-ground so bad, that we dragged our anchor and drifted about four hundred yards down the river. Our interpreter

very naturally assigned the cause to the river-gods being angry, and stated that they had carried the anchor away on their heads.

The morning was cold, although the thermometer was at 82°. The river appeared to be rising very rapidly; yet, though the water was very high, Mr. Lander informed me that it had scarcely attained half its height. If this be true, it must, when it has reached its full size, be a most majestic stream. We were now at anchor in one of the narrowest parts, and this was twelve hundred yards wide.—In four or five days we expected to reach Egga, and to arrive at Rabbah in seventeen or eighteen more. I sincerely wished we were at Rabbah, and considered it likely that we should remain there for some time should things turn out favourably for trade. The Kong Mountains, terminating at Leylan in a range of low undulating hills running in a west-south-west direction, were again visible, and at this distance had a very pleasing appearance.

The natives of Kacundah manufacture mats, cloths, and winter hats, with rims nearly a yard wide. They also cultivate a great quantity of yams; but are rather a stupid-looking race of

people, although patient, industrious, and speculative traders. Palm-trees still line the eastern bank, while other kinds of trees are scarce. A great quantity of Indian corn is grown in the neighbourhood of Kacundah by the natives, whose language is called Shabbee, and Kacundah is by them termed Ibbodah.

The female patient under my care, labouring under an ulceration of the cornea, &c. was somewhat improved; and though I could not expect to save the vision of the left eye, I succeeded in alleviating her sufferings, and I was in great hopes that I should be able to preserve her right eye. The poor creature appeared very grateful for my attention, and submitted to cupping and blistering with great fortitude. She wore several bracelets of brass round her left wrist; an infallible mark of her being a person of considerable consequence.

At 10. 30 A. M. we got under weigh, with a current of two knots and a half against us. The reach we were in commenced in a north-north-west direction, and afterwards trended north-west. We passed a large town on the left, named Adaodelooh, and another lying on the right, called

Hataghee. From Kacundah, on the south side, the Egga country commences.

At 1 P. M. we passed a town situate on the right bank, named Hackoree. This reach of the river lay east and west, and soon after it took a northerly direction.—We passed a town on the left bank, named Gowah. The reach here assumed a westward course.

At 2. 45, passed the town of Gonguah, situate on the right bank. It was now partly in ruins, together with several towns and villages, which were on fire, the Felatahs having just left their ruinous work. The scene of devastation was visible along the whole extent of this reach, which runs north-north-west half-west; and several temporary huts were seen, erected on sandbanks opposite the towns, which the Felatahs could not reach for want of canoes. Even there the poor creatures scarcely enjoyed a short respite; for the waters pursued them, and had already inundated several huts, and washed many others away.

We passed a small town, erected on a bold projecting point of land about fourteen feet high, of a very pleasing and picturesque appearance. The natives were erecting a few huts,

and repairing others which had suffered from the violence of the pitiless Felatahs. The town is named Habuka; at the back part of it are several palm-trees, and in the distance a beautiful open country, thinly wooded.

For the last two hours our course had been north and north-by-east. This morning, about 1 A.M. it commenced raining, and continued to do so until 2 P.M., after which time the weather became clear.

A number of natives lined the bank of the river, who, as the vessel approached them, fell upon their knees. Our interpreter hailed them, and was answered, *that they came to see the people of God.* A large canoe was now seen approaching from a distance, containing nearly forty persons, several of whom were Mallams. When near the vessel, the Mallams and natives in front fell down on their knees, exclaiming, "Allah um de le la fee! Allah um de le la fee!" (God is great, and God preserve you!) They continued repeating extracts from the Koran as they drew nearer; and when the Mallams in the front had knelt, those behind them fell down in the same manner. It was an extraordinary sight, and produced a strange but very pleasing effect.

The King of Amakoa is subject to Ederesa, the legitimate king of the Nufie country.

The course of the river during the day was mostly north, with sometimes westing: the soundings were very favourable, being not less than two, and as much as seven fathoms. The distance computed to be run was twenty-four miles.

At 6. 20 P. M. we anchored off a large town, named by the Shabbee people Eggaginee, and by the natives of Nufie, Batchinkee, where about thirty canoes, containing a great number of the natives, met us.

Early on the 2nd of September, a great number of the natives were assembled on the banks, gazing at the vessel; and about eight o'clock, upwards of thirty canoes were paddling around us, looking at the equipments of the vessel with astonishment. They appeared to possess more curiosity than any of the natives we had yet seen. Several of them said, they had heard of the white man's boat, but they did not think it was so large. Their own canoes were some of the largest we had seen, being upwards of fifty feet long, by two and a half or three feet wide, with flat bottoms. The natives are powerful, robust-looking men, and stand up in their

canoes two abreast when using their paddles, which exceed six feet in length. This appears to be the most effectual mode of using the paddle, the position giving so much power over it. The women of this place appear to have very fine skins; the generality of them are stout, and remarkably clean.

In the afternoon, Lieutenant Allen and I went ashore, where in a short time great numbers of the natives flocked around us. At first they appeared shy and wary; but their timidity soon wore off. The first thing that attracted our attention was a pile of bones of some animal placed as a fetish. A little further on, we were conducted through a kind of glen, where there were more bones, and a great number of jars piled one above the other. On inquiry of our interpreter, we learned that this was the place for the execution of malefactors, and that very lately two persons had taken poison, or, as they expressed it, drunk fetish water. This mode of punishment appears very common in these parts of Africa. When a person is suspected of having committed a crime, he is compelled to swallow a strong dose of vegetable poison. After this the culprit is led about for an hour, and made to drink copiously

of water. In a short time the effects of the poison are apparent. The victim becomes languid; his tongue, covered with saliva and much swollen, protrudes from his mouth; his body becomes inflated, his eyes sink in the sockets, his countenance assumes a ghastly hue, and in the course of an hour, or an hour and a half, death puts an end to his sufferings. The place where these scenes go forward at Eggaginee is well adapted for such deeds of horror. It is at some distance from the town, marked by three large tamarind-trees, close to which runs a small streamlet, surrounded and almost concealed by wood.

The town of Eggaginee, about half a mile long, is situated on a high bank, the subsoil of which is clay. The king being absent, we were conducted to the residence of the chief, who presented us with a goat, some corn, a few eggs, and some Goora nuts. A number of palm-trees were growing at the back part of the town; and beyond, in a north-north-east direction, is part of a table mountain about four hundred feet high; and still further, a cone-topped hill presented itself. These hills are a continuation of the Kongs, which still appear to extend in a westerly direction, but evidently of diminished magnitude.

Mr. Lander, the day before we arrived here, was very much indisposed; but he was now better. The Kacundah patient suffering from inflamed eyes was also much improved; her sight was now free from inflammation. Yesterday her sister came on board to see her, and I was gratified by her anxiety to express her gratitude for my charge of her.

At 10. 30 the next morning we got under weigh with a fine breeze, the reach running north. After passing Eggaginee, or Batchinkee, I was quite astonished to see so many huts extending a considerable distance up the river. Eleven large and populous towns may be seen within a stone's throw of each other: they are all under the dominion of Ederesa, who is the legitimate king, but tributary to the Felatahs. We passed a town on the right side of the river, called Hoobah, and another named Zufomah. Soon after, we passed a hill about a thousand feet high, and in many parts cultivated to its very summit. The beauty of the scenery is greatly increased by these patches of cultivated ground, where the palm-trees and the monkey-bread-fruit are particularly conspicuous: the former, however, decrease in number and size. At this

town (Lufomah) canoes on passing are obliged to pay a duty of twenty thousand cowries to the Felatah tax-gatherer: the town is built upon the right bank of the river, which is about nine feet high; the huts stand close together, and are thickly tenanted. A small town, belonging to the King of Eggaginee, is built on the side of the hill, among a cluster of dark, beautiful trees; and on the river-side, near it, are three gigantic trees, beneath whose wide embowering shade the natives hold their markets. Above the town is a beautifully picturesque vale, interspersed with spots of highly cultivated ground. At 3 P. M. we passed a large town named Addoh, half a mile in extent, lying on the left bank of the river.

At 4 P. M. came to an anchor off Little Addoh, or Sappah Fungo. We considered the distance we had run was about twenty miles. A vast concourse of natives were assembled on the banks, who, as we passed them, appeared so struck by the size of our vessel, that many of them fell down on their knees, and threw sand upon their heads, as if doing homage to the king. The depth of the river had been very favourable to our progress, being not less than three, and

sometimes seven or eight fathoms. The country through which we had passed presented an animated appearance: the foliage of the trees was of the richest description; the hills, assuming a westerly direction, were both of a conical and tabular form, with patches of red, and marks of cultivation extending to their summits; while the graceful meanderings of the river, its noble reaches preserving an expanse of water from two thousand five hundred to three thousand yards wide, rendered the scene beautiful beyond any description that I could give of it.

At 9. 40, we got under weigh for Egga, the reach of the river lying north and south. We were much amused this morning on being gazed at by thousands of the natives, some of whom, in order to see us and examine the vessel, had brought a trifling dash,—such as a few eggs, a fowl, or some yams. During our journey up, we had been the wonder of multitudes, men, women, and children, who never before had seen a white man: relying upon our passive disposition, they flocked on board in such numbers as to become an actual nuisance. Our interpreter, Al Hadge, hit upon a most ingenious method of diminishing their numbers—by not allowing any one to come

on board unless he brought with him a dash of wood. The consequence of this was, that before we had risen from our beds, large quantities of wood were waiting alongside, which, together with a canoe-load from the king, enabled us to get under weigh by nine o'clock, and saved us a day cutting wood, which always occupied so much of our time. While I was writing my journal at this place, a canoe was within the length of the vessel, with ten of the natives, bringing us wood: we could not, however, stop for it, and they were greatly disappointed at our not taking it.

At 10. 30, A. M. we passed a town on the right bank, named Akelamy. The reach of the river lay north-north-west. We observed here several large flocks of wild geese, together with great numbers of Belaric cranes. In the part of the country where we now were, the women (as Mr. Lander has noticed) wear red cornelian, cut into the shape of hearts, and tied around their necks. The cornelian is brought to the coast in English vessels as necklaces; on reaching the interior, it is rubbed on a smooth stone into an hexagonal form, and is worn around the loins of the females in strings of five or six, according to the rank of

the wearer. Some wear them on the wrists also; and the young females of a tender age merely wear one or two strings of cornelian beads, and two strings of cowries, with half a dozen charms, attached thereto, around their loins.

On the east side of the river we observed a number of palm-trees in clusters; and on the left bank is a town named Haygogee, the landing town or capital of Ederesa, who resides at the distance of three or four miles from it. Before getting under weigh this morning the weather was unfavourable, but it afterwards cleared up and became very fine. The river still continued to rise perceptibly: the current in the night was about four knots, and we again dragged our anchor considerably. A great deal of rain fell also during the night, and we found that the wet season was almost over; so that for the three following months we expected the weather to be fine and temperate, after which it would become excessively hot. The average temperature for a month or two we expected to be about 86°.

At 12. 30, we anchored off Egga. Our anchorage was contiguous to an island which lay betwixt us and the town, the latter being distant

about two miles. On visiting the town, I found it considerably larger than I had anticipated: it appeared to contain an immense population. The huts are crowded close together, in order, as I have been told, to prevent the entrance of the Felatah cavalry. The king is a man far advanced in years. We had intended paying him a visit, but the immense number of natives who flocked on board prevented our leaving the vessel: sometimes there were more than one hundred of them on board. I learnt from them that the commodities exposed for sale in Egga market are tobes, antimony from Bornou, cloths, English and Nufie beads, slaves, &c. &c. The natives grow rice, yams, corn, pomatas, and onions, as well as indigo. Thermometer, 87°.

On Sunday, September 8th, at 11 A. M. we got the steam up, and in five minutes afterwards were under weigh. As we lay at anchor off Egga, many of the natives, some of whom appeared to be men of great respectability, applied to me for medicine. Some came to consult me respecting their eyes, having laboured under hard cataract. In this place alone, of some hundreds who applied to me, the majority of them with complaints in the eyes, were incurable.

Several applications were made to remove sterility, and fancied diseases of the kidneys, barrenness, &c. Another portion came to ask advice respecting other diseases, some of which were real, others only imaginary.—One very large woman, with a still larger corporation of real fat, came to consult me about some living animal which had been in her inside so long as the river had taken to fill seven times—(her way of expressing seven years). She did not know what it was, but she thought it might be a leopard, a lion, or perhaps a young elephant; one or other of them she was certain it was. She reminded me of the story of the man who declared he had got a cobbler in his stomach. However, I administered a dose of calomel and colocynth, telling her that whether it was a lion, leopard, or elephant, it would most certainly accompany the medicine.—From some of the natives, for my advice, I received presents of mats, sheep, goats, calabashes of rice, onions, pots of honey, and cowries; and, without having an eye to our trade, I recommended spectacles, several pairs of which were sold at one thousand cowries per pair.

Among the numerous patients I attended, was

the King of Nufie—Ederesa himself. On Friday last we were honoured with a visit from him, attended by his principal men. His dominion formerly extended over the whole country; but, driven out by his brother, the Magia, supported by the Felatah interest, he now reigned over only one half the country, the Felatahs having taken possession of the other.* Ederesa stands about five feet nine inches high, and is stoutly formed. He was dressed in three tobes, the outer one formed of a kind of lace in a diamond pattern, trousers of the Company's cotton with a pattern of red and white flowers, and a red cap. His manners were mild and agreeable, with a constant smile on his countenance; he appeared to be all good-nature. After I had been introduced as Sullikeen Maghony (king of physic), a great deal of whispering took place between our interpreter and the chief attendants. When they had ended, Mr. Lander informed me that the king was sick and suffering a great deal of pain; and, after some consultation, it was agreed that Ederesa should attend the next morning, for the purpose of examina-

* For a more detailed account, vide Lander's Wanderings in Africa.

tion; which was done. I gave the king such medicines as I considered applicable and requisite for his case, with particular directions to his head Mallam how to use them. Ederesa was particularly desirous of obtaining relief, and promised me a slave if I could effect his cure. I told him this was unnecessary, but that I would accept a horse, which he promised to send to Rabbah in a fortnight.

It was extremely gratifying to our feelings to observe the great confidence that the natives reposed in us, and we thought it augured well for the ultimate success of the expedition. We were informed that the Felatah tax-gatherer, or collector, had received the half-yearly taxes of Egga, amounting to sixty thousand cowries.

Our average course to-day was west by north; the soundings varying from two to seven fathoms. The island off which we had anchored near Egga town is about three miles and a half long: it extends far above the town, to a short distance below it. Between it and Egga is a creek well filled with water.

At 10 P. M. we passed a large town situate on the left bank, named Fofo, about twelve hundred yards long, and thickly populated. The river

in some parts of this day's course had been two thousand, or two thousand five hundred yards wide. Mr. Lander and myself felt ourselves unwell to-day. At 3. 5 P. M. anchored off a second town, named Little Fofo.

The brother of the woman who had been under my care came on board here, and insisted on my accepting five thousand cowries for my care of his sister, at the same time taking her home with him to the Kacundah country, being afraid to trust her with the Felatahs:—it afforded me great satisfaction to find that the vision of the right eye was perfectly restored, and the left considerably relieved. I also received four thousand cowries from another patient. Cowries being the principal article of barter, we found them extremely useful in purchasing provisions, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

First Interview with Felatahs. — Rennell's Range. —Lose a Canoe. —Anchor off Abbafooh. —Accabooh. —Dougnoh.— Barrow's Mount, and Graham's Mountains.—Hippopotami. —Kuta.— Canoes from Rabbah. — Modes of Salutation.— River Scenery.— Mount Forsyth.— Tchange City.—Zagoshie.—Arrive and Anchor off Rabbah.—Land at Rabbah. — Interview with the Sultan Osiman. — Visit the various Chiefs of Rabbah. — Trading commenced.— Visit the Sultan's Daughter.—Land at Zagoshie.

MONDAY, September 9th.—When we anchored off Fofo yesterday, the chief and the inhabitants of the town were terrified by the appearance of the vessel. A great many of them fled into the bush; but on perceiving their alarm, we sent the interpreter with a dash, to quiet them, and conciliate the favour of their chief. We were so fortunate, that for two thousand eight hundred cowries the people supplied the vessel with wood sufficient to run her for two days. This was a grand saving of time, and we gained thereby nearly four days. How much more expeditiously might we

have proceeded, had there been a supply of wood ready for us at certain towns!

The Felatah collector whom we met at Egga had also been here for the taxes. This man was charged by Mr. Lander with a copy of the New Testament in the Saharic Language to the King of Rabbah, and to inform him that the white men were on their way up the river.

At Egga, for the first time, we met with Felatahs. I saw four of them there, wearing white turbans, like the Tuaricks. The turbans were passed round the head, concealing a small skull-cap: the two folds of the turban carefully covered the mouth and nose, leaving only the eyes visible, which, with their darkened eyelids from the application of antimony, gave them a strange appearance. They appeared to be a shrewd kind of people, asked several questions of us, and among the rest, the motives of our coming up the river, and if we intended to visit the King of Rabbah. On being shown the large gun, they cast their eyes up, exclaiming, "Allah, Allah!" Many of their people, as far as I could understand them, are a shade or two lighter than the generality of the natives.

A short time ago, an elephant was killed at

this place, by digging a deep pit, when in search of water at the side of the river.

At 8. 10 A. M. we got under weigh, and in six hours were abreast of a range of beautiful hills, named by Lieutenant Allen, Rennell's Range. Their height was estimated at two thousand feet. — Our course was about north-north-west.

At 3 P. M. we passed a town on the right bank, which is about fifty feet high. A large extent of cultivated ground appeared at the back of the town, which lay at the foot of the range of mountains and presented a very pretty appearance. The bold point of steatite which we passed was named Laird's Point. Last night a heavy tornado came on, and we lost the canoe which was used for carrying wood, &c. to the vessel; a loss which was likely to prove inconvenient to us. On the right bank a great number of diminutive trees were distinguishable.

In the afternoon the course of the river was west-south-west. We passed two towns adjacent to each other, situate on the right bank; and discovered too late, to our great regret, that we had missed the mouth of the Coodoonia River, mentioned in Mr. Lander's last Journal, although

a vigilant look-out was kept for it. Mr. Lander states, that in coming down with his brother, they passed between an island and the main land; but our course has been along the main branch, and yet we have missed it. The current at this place exceeds three knots per hour.—Our course at present lay west-by-north.

At 5. 35, we anchored in the centre of the stream, which is nearly two miles broad, abreast of a town named Abbafooh, situate on the right bank. We calculated that our run this day had been twenty-five miles.

At 7. 20 A. M. on the following morning, we got under weigh, and soon after observed a great number of very large canoes, containing about twenty men each, with paddles upwards of six feet in length, which they used standing, with great dexterity. On a sandbank in the centre of the river, stands a large town, named Accabooh, apparently of considerable importance: we saw a great number of sheep, goats, and fowls on the island. As we passed up the river, a great concourse of respectable-looking natives, habited in white tobes, were assembled on the banks; while hundreds of naked boys and girls were running by the water-side, and trying their speed against that of the vessel.

At 4. 40 P. M. we anchored off a town distant about one mile, situate on the left bank of the river, and named Dougnoh. The general breadth of the river was about three thousand five hundred yards, and our estimated run was twenty-two miles and a half. On our left, at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles, were the Rennell Hills, with others of a table-like form, Kattam Ratrasse branching from them; and on our right were extensive tracts of cultivated land, with rich and beautiful plains stretching as far as the eye could reach.

At Egga, the old Mallam presented us with a bullock of the carrier kind; the cartilage of the nose being perforated, and a rope run through the orifice, to answer the purpose of a bridle. The bullocks are of a large size, and are used for long journeys.—Ederesa, likewise, sent us some fine goats.

We had passed about ten towns. From our anchorage a great many islands intercepted our view of the river; so that there may be, and perhaps are, many tributary streams which fall into the river, and which were unseen by us.

Some wood and rice were sent us as presents on the morning of the 11th, from Dougnoh, and

we got under weigh at 10. 25 A. M. Very heavy rain had fallen during the greater part of the night. At 11 A. M. our course was about west-north-west. The mountains we had seen the day before were still observed, assuming the same direction, to the northward. A beautiful hill was named Barrow's Mount; and the others, Graham's Mountains. Thermometer, 86°.

A large Rabbah canoe, upwards of sixty feet long, passed us: a number of the natives were seated on the roof of a sort of hut constructed in the canoe, which appeared heavily laden and on its way to Egga market. A little below, we passed a small promontory entirely covered with palm-trees, from which circumstance we bestowed upon it the name of Palm-tree Point. Passed two towns, and a number of huts covered with ivy, lying on the left side of the river. Another large Rabbah canoe afterwards passed us, containing two houses similar to the former:—it was filled up with calabashes, mats, &c. and could not be much less than seventy feet long.

At 12. 30, we passed a town on the left bank, situate at the back part of an island, on the shore of a very pretty bay. We also passed a small village built on a point of land on the

right bank, which rises to the height of fifteen or twenty feet: two remarkable trees, with a fine lofty palm-tree, grow at the extremity of the point. From the number of branches proceeding from this part, we lost ourselves, and ran out of the main stream on the inner side of the island, and found ourselves in shallow water.

We here saw eleven hippopotami at one time. The natives esteem the flesh of this animal a great delicacy. I had a very fine view of one which was frisking and gambolling near the shore, its neck and one half of its body being distinctly visible. The form of these huge monsters appeared to me to resemble a fine horse, such as are attached to the brewers' drays in London, with a thick and nobly-arched neck, and small ears, in shape very much similar to those of a mouse. When their heads were visible, they put us in mind of kegs floating on the surface of the water.

At 3. 16 P. M. ran aground. We were given to understand that the branch we were now in had only within the last few days had any water in it. We found ourselves steaming through some remarkably long grass, to which there were thousands of shells attached. A small village near us,

named Yabbah, consisting of only twenty huts, we found, is made to pay tribute to the avaricious and despotic Felatahs.

We considered ourselves now to be but a few days' journey from Rabbah. As we had no wind, the heat was extremely oppressive; and being in want of exercise, our health was but very indifferent. One of our men, Geffry, was put in irons for insolence and misconduct. This evening the boats, from the rapidity of the current, drifted down the river with two hands in them.

Thursday, September 12th.—This morning two canoes, manned by Kroomen, were despatched in search of the boats, and they returned in a few hours successful. At 10. 45, got under weigh: course, north-north-west. After entering the main branch, we passed several towns lying on both sides of the river, and had many good soundings. At 1. 45, we anchored abreast of a town named Harwoola, our estimated distance run being six miles.

The weather on the 13th September was very dull. A beautiful young pelican was observed gliding majestically down the stream:

the boat was despatched in pursuit of it; but as it approached, the bird took to its wings and escaped. About the same time, a fine old pelican was fishing nearly abreast the vessel: the plumage of both was grey-coloured, and the tips of their wings black.—Jones, a seaman, was added to the sick-list.

At 12 A. M. we got under weigh. For the last two days we had been running between islands where there is scarcely any wood to be met with; the course, north-west by west.

At 1. 15 P. M. we passed two very pretty towns, situate on the left bank, distant about a mile and a half. Passed several more towns. The banks of the river were here low, and with very few signs of cultivation visible: here and there a palm-tree might be seen. The hills mentioned yesterday still continue in sight, running in a north-north-west direction. Course westerly.

At 5. 35, anchored off Kuta. Our last course had been west-north-west. There are five towns named Kuta, within a short distance of each other, on the right bank of the river. Below us reside the Nufie people: a tribe known by the name of Bofo are to be met with somewhere

about here. The weather last night was extremely cold. We sent for a supply of wood, and expected to get under weigh in the morning.

In the course of the following day we received several canoe-loads of wood from the natives, who availed themselves of this method to obtain a sight of the Christians. About 10 A. M. a canoe arrived from Rabbah, sent by the king, with instructions to ascertain if it were true that the Christians were in the river, and if they were the same who visited Soccatoo about two years before (meaning Captain Clapperton and Lander). On the return of the canoe, Mina was ordered to accompany them, to announce our peaceful intentions. Shortly after his departure, two other canoes arrived,—one from the Magia, and the other from the King of the "Dark Water" at Rabbah, Sullikeen Beckee Roa. They had been hovering about some time, afraid to come on board: they said they came to see where we were, and if we were near Rabbah.

At 2. 7 P. M. we got under weigh. Two Felatahs came on board. Al Hadge made them put ashes on their foreheads. It is a custom prevalent throughout the interior to kneel to the kings and chiefs, at the same time throwing sand

upon their heads, until the monarch desires them to rise. It is very common for them to use clay or mire for this purpose, according to the place in which the king sits—whether under a tree or in an unpaved apartment. The women throw dust over their left shoulder, at the same time rubbing their arms as high as the shoulder with their hands. The eunuchs of the King of Attah had the crown of the head shaved, which place and their foreheads they besmear with clay, and allow it to continue there until the conference is ended. Even Abboka, Attah's own brother, was compelled to submit to this apparently degrading custom, and also to kneel down at the outer door of the king's apartment, and to repeat there, "The king lives here:" when he approached the king's presence, he knelt down and scattered sand over his head.

At 4. 45 P. M. we came to an anchor. As we emerged from the numerous islands, the appearance of the river the last three days improved very considerably, especially as we neared the main land. There was now a prospect of plenty of wood, which had been rather scarce during the last *two days*; THE ONLY TIME that we have

experienced anything like a scarcity of that necessary article since leaving the Nun. During a great part of the time our courses had been north-north-west and due west; and we supposed the distance run was ten miles. Palm-trees are still visible, rising conspicuously among their more ignoble neighbours the bushes. Among the mountains running to the westward, is one of a table form with a triangular peak: it was named after the obliging secretary, Mr. Forsyth.

Sunday, the 15th of September, was a very wet day, and the Kroomen were sent ashore to cut wood. Several canoes were observed lying off an island abreast of us, the natives in them gazing at us for some time with evident marks of distrust. A quantity of wood was brought off from Logoo, a town adjacent to us; and with this welcome and acceptable supply of fuel, we expected to reach Rabbah in two days.

The following morning was dull. At 7 A. M. we got under weigh; and a few miles from our anchorage we were met by Al Hadge, who had gone out in search of wood for us. He brought us several canoe-loads, which filled the long-boat, and gave us still better hopes of reaching

Rabbah as we had expected. He stated that the canoes which we had observed hovering about yesterday attempted to take the Kroomen, but, from the proximity of the vessel, they could not accomplish their object. We learned from Al Hadge, that the King and Chiefs of Rabbah expressed their fears that we were coming as auxiliaries to the Magia; and had not Mina been sent to assure them that the motive of our journey was to establish a fair trade, it is probable that they would all of them have abandoned the town. The width of the river in this part is about a mile and a half.

At 9. 30 A. M. we passed several very prettily-situated towns; the reach lying due north. To the westward was a fine range of hills, extending in a northerly direction.

On the declivity of one of the abovementioned chain of mountains is a very populous and extensive town, half Nufie and half Yarriba, named Tcharige. This is the largest town we have met with since leaving Old England; it is only a few hundred yards from the river-side, on the declivity of a high hill. Reach, north-west.—We heard here that the Felatahs intended to attack the King of Iddah in the next dry season. In

the course of the last, they were within fifty miles of that place; but the rains coming on, they were prevented from continuing their campaign. At 12, the reach was due north. We passed a town very prettily situated on a point on the left bank of the river.

During the last two days a great number of palm-trees were seen on the banks. The weather being showery, we could not see our way well, and at 2. 45 ran aground; but in half an hour afterwards we got off again. We now passed the extreme point of the island of Zagoshie, off Rabbah. A canoe belonging to the King of the "Dark Water," shortly after passed us; and we arrived in sight of Rabbah — a circumstance which gave us all great satisfaction.

As we rapidly approached the town, it appeared to be situated on the slope of a rising ground; and the houses being built one above the other, impart to it the appearance of an amphitheatre. With the aid of a glass we could discern an amazing crowd of natives assembled on the banks; but, what was more in accordance with our wishes, we could distinguish horses, cows, bullocks, sheep, and goats. As we drew nearer, we found the city to be of immense extent,

with villages all round the suburbs. We went inside a small island under the town, where we anchored at 6. 10 P. M. in a kind of bay, in one fathom and a half water.

The king was apprised of our intention to fire a salute, and the walls of Rabbah, for the first time, re-echoed with the sound of British cannon, and her people witnessed a novel sight in the arrival of a British steam-vessel constructed of iron. After our salute, our people broke out into three hearty cheers, which perhaps surprised still more the thousands of human beings that were assembled before the walls of Rabbah.

As we had neared the city, a great number of Felatah horsemen were seen coming out to look at the vessel; one of whom was particularly conspicuous, from riding on a white horse.

Having anchored our vessel late, we lay quiet till the next morning, when we prepared to visit the king. Horses having been sent to the water-side for us, Lieutenant Allen, Mr. Lander, and myself went ashore, accompanied by some Kroomen; and I enjoyed the satisfaction of being the first Christian who had ever landed at Rabbah. The horses were small, and we found considerable difficulty in mounting, from the concourse

of natives being so great. We were preceded by Sullikeen Mansony (King of the Messengers), after whom followed a posse of constables armed with crooks and staves. The appearance of the crooks was strange enough;—indeed, they reminded me of the representations of shepherd's crooks, and were, *sans cérémonie*, hooked round the neck of every intruder. Our conductors were likewise furnished with whips made of the skin of the hippopotamus; and these they used with very great severity on the backs of the natives, to keep order.

As we passed on, we found the streets narrow and excessively filthy: dunghills were seen in the most public thoroughfares. We passed through the wood-market, and another in which grass was sold; also the shambles, the slave-market, and the cloth-market, all distinct from each other. To our left was the market for bullocks, where about one hundred fine beasts were exposed for sale. In various sheds were saddles, beads, sandals, tobes; and other articles were offered to the view of purchasers. Indigo was likewise exhibited for sale, and baskets of senna.

The King's houses are between thirty and forty

in number (each of which is surmounted by an ostrich's egg), and are situate about a mile and a half from the water-side, and inclosed by a very high wall, constructed of mud and red sand. After passing through several apartments, we were ushered into a very naked and comfortless room, in one corner of which stood the very identical white steed which we saw as we approached Rabbah the morning before. The outer apartment was the palaver-house, where the chiefs and princes assemble. As we passed through it, there were upwards of one hundred, seated cross-legged, *à la Turque*, together with a great number of Arabs. They appeared to be respectably dressed, and all of them wore a piece of white muslin around their heads, one end of which they brought round over the mouth, and left nothing but the eyes exposed, as mentioned by former travellers.

We were much disppointed by the appearance of the king, and it was not until a considerable time had elapsed that we could discover which really was his majesty. At first we were told that the person before us was the "king's mouth;" but at length we discovered his sable majesty in the person of Osiman, son of Mallam

Dendo. He wore a very common tobe, with a piece of muslin over his mouth and nose, which he never attempted to move, but inserted his fingers under the turban, to allow free motion to speak. Close beside him were his sandals, and a silver pot, containing some Goora nuts, which he dealt out with a liberal hand. His manners were dignified and imposing, his conversation free and easy, and his remarks shrewd and sensible. He appeared to be well-informed, and his manners altogether bespoke the courtier.*

Opposite the house in which we were seated was another dwelling, two stories high, at the upper window of which were two fine Felatah girls, who laughed and showed me some pieces of lead, beaten out into the size and shape of a dollar, which they wore as rings on their fingers. They, no doubt, wanted dollars; but unfortunately we had come utterly unprovided with any.

During the audience, several of the king's women would come and peep at us; and if, casually or intentionally, we turned our heads

* He was rather good-looking about the eyes, which were dark and piercing; and these were nearly all of his countenance that we could discover.

and perceived them, they would scamper away laughing. The presents which we had brought with us, and which were numerous and valuable, were taken away and placed in another apartment; the king scarcely deigning to look at them, as it is not customary for princes to notice the presents given them, such a thing being considered derogatory. We understood that there are three or four others of equal power, to whom we must also make presents.

The audience or palaver having terminated, we took our leave of the king, and were conducted to the abode of Mallam Moosa, an elderly and very good man. He requested us to be seated on a mat beside him, gave us Goora nuts, and talked and laughed with us freely. He was seated in the midst of thirty or forty others, amongst whom I saw several Arabs, two or three of whom, in particular, struck me as being ferocious and ill-looking men, with beards reaching down to their middle. One of these sages had a beard of a fine jetty-black colour, resembling in shape a peacock's tail.

After remaining with our friend the Mallam about half an hour, we were conducted to Sullikeen Yiki (the King of War). A little rain

falling at this time, we put on our water-proof cloaks, which furnished a new subject of curiosity among the natives, who stared with astonishment, as they completely enveloped our horses as well as ourselves. Mallam Moosa's house was situated in the market-place, through which we had to pass. Here the greatest confusion prevailed: the throng that followed us, joined to the numbers collected in the market-place, rendered passing almost impossible; stalls and their baskets were upset; cowries were flying about in all directions; and several poor creatures were knocked down and trampled upon. We were accompanied by a deaf-and-dumb boy, who carried a whip made of the hide of the hippopotamus, which he used most unmercifully, making at the same time a singular noise.

The population of Rabbah must be immense. We noticed a number of very fine entire horses. Mr. Lander met with an Arab, named Ali, who appeared unusually communicative: — he told him that the king and principal men had all made preparations for leaving the town; and had not our messengers convinced them of our friendly intentions, they would have carried their design into execution.

We found Sullikeen Yiki seated on a leopard's skin, with about twenty others around him. In appearance he is a most ferocious-looking fellow, and is deeply pitted with the small-pox. His face is very broad, and ornamented with a most capacious mouth: he wore a sword over his left arm. There was something in this man's look which was anything but prepossessing, and after staying a short time with him we took our departure.

In the course of the day, Yiki sent for some patterns of velvet. Some goods were to be sent ashore the next day, to try if they would meet with purchasers. He invited me frequently to his house, and as often as I went, brought one or two of his wives or his friends, to have medicine administered to them.

On the following day (18th September) Mr. Brown was sent to the market with some goods, which did not meet with a ready sale, as only two thousand cowries were taken. It was determined to establish a trade at this place if possible:—the Alburkah was to run as far as possible up the river to Boosa; and should the rocks obstruct her progress, Mr. Lander and myself were to proceed on in the long-boat.

On the 19th September, one of the king's sons visited us on board:—he is about seven years of age, and appeared to be a fine boy. Mr. Lander held a consultation about taking a house or houses on shore for a short time. In the afternoon, agreeably to appointment, we went ashore, and were conducted to the house of the king's daughter, the Princess of Rabbah, situate near the outskirts of the city. We found everything remarkably neat and clean: calabashes were placed all round the apartment in the same manner that wooden bowls or platters are ranged in a dairy in Old England. In one part I observed four case-bottles for spirits, of Portuguese manufacture. The lady appeared to be about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, with a remarkably small hand and foot;—I never met with one so exceedingly small. She was reclining on a mat in one corner, with a curtain before her, when we arrived: she received us in a very friendly manner.

On our return to the landing-place, we rowed over to the island of Zagoshie, and were introduced to Sullikeen Becken Roa, or "King of the Dark Water." He is an elderly man, and sent for some beer, which we drank and

found to be excellent. He complained of being unwell.

The river being high, Zagoshie was nearly covered with it, and many of the huts had been completely washed away. At the best of times it is a low, swampy place, but appears to have an extensive trade; — indeed, Zagoshie is the Manchester of this part of Africa. Most of the articles exposed for sale at Rabbah are manufactured on this island. In the course of the day we purchased fifty-eight pounds of ivory. The river is about two miles wide at Rabbah.

The morning of the 20th was wet and dull. We purchased ninety-three pounds of ivory for thirty-six medals* and seven thousand cowries. In the evening I went on shore for a walk, and visited Mallam Moosa. He is a very fine old man, and desiring me to be seated, sent into his yard for a fine fat turkey, of which he begged my acceptance, along with a pot of honey.

The market was not quite over, and numbers of natives were still there. Among them were Felatahs, with their turbans covering their mouth, nose, and chin; and the frowning Arabs

* These were medals of the coronation of William IV. purchased at Liverpool.

with their head-dresses, and native women with calabashes of milk, calling "Mona mu ki" (Fresh milk from the cow). These, and many others, formed an interesting and agreeable spectacle.

CHAPTER X.

Apartments hired at Rabbah.—Filthiness of the Town.—Intercourse with the Sultan and People of Rabbah.—Death of Mallam Dendo and the Sultan's Sister.—Difficulty in trading.—Extraordinary Notion of the Natives concerning White Men.—Thoughts of going to Boossa relinquished.—Medical Aid in request.—A Description of Rabbah, and some Account of the Felatahs, their Trade, Manners, and Customs.

On the morning of the 20th September, we visited Mallam Dendo. He is an old man, apparently about eighty, but said to be a hundred and fifteen; and notwithstanding he appeared in a state of starvation, he gave us some Goora nuts and a sealed pot of honey.

The king seemed very glad to see us when we paid him a visit on the 25th, and inquired if our motive for coming was war; and being answered in the negative, he appeared perfectly satisfied.

Having determined on residing on shore for a short time, on this day Lieutenant Allen and I

went to examine the houses. They were about a mile and a half distant from the vessel, and four or five hundred yards from the king's residence, and were now occupied by his majesty's master of the horse, (Sullikeen Door Kee,) who obligingly gave them up for our use. The entrance consisted of two circular-built houses, distant from each other only a few yards, and which opened into the street. Here a passage leads into Sullikeen Door Kee's yard, whose residence is the first house on the left; opposite to which were his stables, where he kept a beautiful Arabian charger. On the left angle was the yard, containing three houses, two of which were let to us. The yard is very clean and hard, and separated from the street by a mud-wall fourteen or fifteen feet high.

We were told that the Magia had sent us a bullock. The king also despatched one down to us—a poor sickly-looking animal; so much so, that Mr. Lander told the messenger he felt confident that the Magia had sent a finer beast than the one he had brought, and that he would not accept it, informing the man that he might have it for four thousand cowries (about 4*s.* 3*d.* sterling), and the offer was accepted. We sus-

pected that the King of the Felatahs had made an exchange, and sent this poor animal to us in place of the one originally intended by the Magia.

In going to the king's house from the vessel, we had always to pass through the various markets, which are held in an open piece of ground, covering two or three acres. On the right was the butchers' market; and a little distance from it, a pond of stagnant water, into which the offal, blood, and garbage of the slaughtered animals were thrown. The stench proceeding from it, as might be supposed, was most intolerable. I thought that my olfactory nerves were pretty well seasoned; but to pass this congregated mass of filth on a hot day was too much for me. Hundreds of those useful but disgusting-looking birds, the buzzards or scavengers of Africa, were always about this place: they are so tame, that they will scarcely move out of the way for you to pass.

The first day we came ashore, we purchased a few teeth; but yesterday and to-day none had been met with.

A demand was sent to Sullikeen Yiki (the King of War) for some cowries due for cloth, &c.; but he returned for answer, that he sent the

goods to the king. This had not a very favourable appearance. The king sent for a pancha, and wanted more credit, although he was already a hundred and eighty thousand cowries in our debt.

We heard to-day a report that a large steamer was at Egga, which we supposed was the Quorra. The Felatahs are not very particular respecting the appearance of their landing-place. A few days ago a dead horse was lying there; and this morning I was astonished to find the body of a man in the same place. The stench was intolerable. I mentioned it to Sullikeen Roa, and he had them removed.

The Alburkah was now being painted, and already looked very gay. On visiting the riverside this morning, I was surprised to find that the water had fallen three feet. The Felatahs go invariably armed, wearing their swords over their left shoulders: with the muslin of their turbans drawn over their face, they resemble the Tuaricks. During the last three days, Mr. Lander had been very unwell. Among the birds I noticed at Rabbah, were crows, buzzards, and rice-birds with scarlet feathers and beautiful plumage round the head and neck, wild pigeons, doves, pelicans, and Balearic cranes: ostriches

are also in the city. We disposed of great quantities of paper at a thousand cowries per sheet, and could have met with purchasers for much more if we had had it.

The master of the king's horse is a very civil man, and a native of Bornou: his seraglio consists of thirty women; ten of his children are interred in the yard! Sullikeen Yiki's sister paid us a visit, and contrived to fall in love with a ring I wore. The medals sold exceedingly well; but this afternoon several were returned, the natives having discovered that they were not made of silver. The custom of wearing perforated dollars as rings on their fingers seems to be general.

Friday, September 27th.—Last night, between twelve and one, we were roused from our slumbers by one of the principal Kroomen from the Alburkah, who stated there was a disturbance on board. Mr. Lander being very unwell, I went on board accompanied by Lieutenant Allen. As the hour was late, Sullikeen Door Kee sent two of his bowmen with us, with their quivers well filled with poisoned arrows. We met but few people in the way. The night was light and fine; we heard singing and dancing in most of the streets we passed through. About 6 A. M.

Mr. Lander went on board, and dismissed the offending officer, Mr. D., from duty.

This being the Mussulman sabbath, and Mr. Lander feeling unwell, I was desired to wait on the king with some fancy ball-dresses, trimmed with ears of corn, and gold and silver wire. The king admired the trimmings, wanted them to ornament his war-dresses with, and desired me to leave them for the tailor's examination. He also denied his having received the goods sent to Sullikeen Yiki; so that we began to suspect that something unfair was going on, each of them referring us to the other.

A day or two afterwards, the king wanted samples of all our goods. Mr. Lander sent him word that he should not have them, neither would he continue to trade, unless the account of the hundred and eighty thousand cowries was first settled. The king showed me four or five tobes, all of which had been worn; one vest of silk, two others of scarlet velvet, and one of very fine red cloth, each of them more or less embroidered, and wrought with flowers down the front. It struck me that the first I saw was the tobe of the late Mungo Park: it was open a few inches in front, and edged with gold lace, with lace-work down the front. Mr. Lander

was also of the same opinion. It will be recollected that Lander was obliged to dispose of this valuable relic at Rabbah.

Respecting the dresses which I had brought, the king did not appear to like the opening at the back, although, as I told him, it was customary for all English ladies to wear them so. He seemed exceedingly puzzled how they could possibly secure them behind, and wished them to open in front like the tobes. Sullikeen Yiki is to accompany me to Mr. Lander, to give an explanation of his conduct. During my visit, the outer house of the king was filled with well-dressed, respectable-looking men, in tobes and turbans, who all wore swords.

It was near the time of going to the mosque, about two hundred yards distant. The king told me he was going to the *dike Allah*, (the house of God); so that, after eating some Goora nuts, we separated.

Since Mr. Lander went on board unwell, I had been left on shore, entrusted with the care of the goods, Mr. Brown placing them out for sale. About 3. 30 P. M. Sullikeen Door Kee appeared, mounted on his splendid war-horse, I having agreed in the morning to ride out with him. He had a fine bay horse for me; but he said that

we would go to Mr. Lander previously to our ride, and we accordingly proceeded to the water-side. Being the sabbath, the Felatahs, to the number of several hundreds, were riding out. When they meet, they put spurs to their horses at the distance of twenty or thirty yards, and then galloping towards each other, rein their steeds up all on a sudden, and extending their right arm with the hand half closed exclaim, "Burkah, burkah, si la fere;"—(A blessing, a blessing,—I hope you are well.) It has a very pretty effect.—The Sullikeen Door Kee was attended by two of his bowmen, fine young fellows about twenty years of age. They wore their quivers, filled with arrows slung at their back: each quiver contained about a hundred poisoned arrows. They likewise wore a large knife secured round the wrist, and concealed.

In the conference between Door Kee and Mr. Lander, the latter determined on having the goods re-embarked. Sullikeen Door Kee was averse to this, and protested that the king would pay, and with great vehemence uttered the following exclamation: "There is none greater than Sullikeen Selannee, but God!" This man, Door Kee, as I have before mentioned, is a very

pleasant and intelligent chief, and was extremely partial to us. Poor fellow! he was not averse to rum, about two glasses of which he had drunk that afternoon; and not being accustomed to its effects, he talked, and laughed and danced, and finally stripped off his tobes, three in number, to run the canoe ashore, though nearly naked, and in imminent danger of several times falling overboard.

Having landed again, we had a very pleasant ride by a circuitous route home. The king's master of the horse, being a little worse for rum, galloped through several streets, to the great danger of the people. I could not but admire his entire command over the horse, and his admirable horsemanship.

In consequence of the indisposition of Mr. Lander, early on the morning of the 28th I pressed Sullikeen Door Kee to wait upon the king, and inform him of Mr. Lander's communication. About 10 A. M. he returned, saying the king wished to see me. Taking two interpreters with me, I went on shore. The morning was excessively hot. The market was quite crowded with the natives of distant countries, who surrounded me in every direction. From those who knew

me, I was perpetually accosted with " Sullikeen Maghony, ki nan; Sullikeen Maghony, ki nan (King of Medicine, he is the man.) On passing through the outer apartment of the king's house, there were several dozen Mallams and Arabs assembled. On my entering the king's presence, he exclaimed, " Allah illah, illah Allah Mahomedooro, soora lafe!" (God is great, and Mahomed is his prophet!) I repeated what Mr. Lander had desired me, adding very coolly that the whole transaction was a piece of roguery between them. I informed him that Yiki had sent for the goods, and had subsequently and frequently told us that he, Osiman, had them, and would pay for them.

The king, seeing that we were in earnest, and perhaps thinking he would get no more goods, observed, " Your heart be too warm, your heart too warm; you shall be paid for them in teeth or cowries;" at the same time asking me which we preferred. He sent for a person, whom he desired me to let one of my interpreters accompany, and he should be paid in cowries, as I proposed. He then at once told me that he wanted everything we had, and that he had abundance of cowries wherewith to pay for them. He inquired if we had any cloth like that of the coat I

wore: I replied in the negative; when he immediately asked, "Why did you not bring some of the same cloth, buttons, and lace as you wear yourselves?" But, after telling him that all trade was suspended until the palaver or dispute was settled, I took my leave. He sent me a goat, the only return he has made for all the valuable presents he has received from us.

This was the third or fourth time I had been to demand payment for the goods, and I was very apprehensive that all my efforts would prove unsuccessful: but we were soon to see whether the cowries were forthcoming.

On leaving the king's presence, a man ran after me, asking me to purchase a leopard's skin. When I reached our house, I found that two teeth had been purchased: we had not purchased any ivory before for several days: I knew this was done to induce us to remain.

On going on board, I found five or six Arabs engaged in trading; but on the approach of the king's people, they discontinued. We got all the goods on board in the evening, and our people determined to wait no longer, or subject ourselves further to a swindling transaction.—We heard very loud noises on shore, which continued the whole night.

On the following morning I sent an interpreter into the town, to ascertain if any remarks had been made respecting our leaving it. On his return he informed us of the death of the king's sister; which circumstance accounted for the noise heard in the town.

Shortly afterwards, Al Hadge, who had been all night on shore, came on board, and informed us of the death of Mallam Dendo. He expired at the precise moment when we fired our morning gun, eight o'clock. Pagans and Mahomedans in the interior of Africa place great confidence in a medical man, (Sullikeen Maghony—King of Medicine,) and believe him competent to perform anything, as the following instance will show: I was accused by the Felatahs of having caused his death by blowing maghony (poison) through the key-hole of his door! I learned that the old man had been sick about five days. The Felatahs had threatened to behead Al Hadge, who knowing us well, and how much we esteemed him, said, that if they did so, they would not have a house standing, for that our great guns would knock them all down at one time!

A messenger was sent to the king to condole with him for his loss, and was desired to inform

his majesty how deeply we sympathised in his afflictions. Osiman sent word that he felt our kindness and was obliged to us, but that God had taken his father away. He asked our messenger Mina, "Why don't you stay with us, who are your countrymen, and not go with the Christian dogs and unbelievers?"—"It is well known," says he, "that in their own country they eat black men, and dye red cloth with their blood. Besides, they know nothing—not even Allah (God); and after death, they are our slaves in Paradise!"

Al Hadge, the messenger, had been on shore all the night of Sunday; and notwithstanding all the promises made to us by the king, no cowries arrived. His majesty wanted more goods, and said that his people were collecting the cowries round the country. He also sent to Mr. Lander, to request of him to fire a few guns in memory of his deceased father.

The engineer reported that the cylinder had a flaw in it, owing to rough usage on the night of the 26th. This was a serious circumstance, and prevented all thought of going further up the river. We had intended going to Lybas, or Lever, which is two or three days' journey higher

up; but Smith stated that it would be unsafe to trust three-quarter power steam. We were therefore reluctantly compelled to give up the idea of going to Boossa.

The king sent two more messengers to us, with a request that we would honour his deceased parent with a discharge of our guns, stating at the same time that the deceased was one hundred and fifteen years old; but with what truth he affirmed this, I know not. His wishes were complied with. The same messengers likewise brought word that the Magia was in the town, and wished us to pay him a visit on shore.

About 4 P. M. the Magia came to the waterside. I went ashore and invited him to come on board. He is a fine-looking man; tall, muscular, and powerful. He was mounted on a chesnut-coloured horse, and wore a green silk velvet cap, trimmed with gold lace, and evidently the worse for use. He had on a tobe, and carried a spear in his right hand. Some of his attendants were engaged in fanning him; and one of them held an old umbrella over his head, to shelter him from the rays of the sun. On his left was his brother, a slender-looking young man, mounted on a small horse. His attendants

appeared to be about five hundred in number,* many of whom bore arms. He objected to going on board, saying he would go and sleep, and visit us again on the morrow; but we never saw any more of him. He sent several times for Mr. Lander to go ashore; but Lander did not accept his invitation, and consequently never saw him.

The king's master of the horse came on board this afternoon, and returned the dresses. The king sent a messenger for all of us to go on shore, and we were curious to know why.

The river was still falling, and some thoughts were entertained of returning to the sea-side. The king also sent us notice, that if we did not go on shore ourselves, we must keep our people on board. This did not look well on the part of the monarch. — Sent to Zagoshie for wood. Heavy rain all night.

In our inquiries respecting the course of the Tchadda, Bashere, the servant of the late Capt. Clapperton, and agent at Kama, (Al Hadge Sali,) told us that the river runs to Begharmi, and to the hills in the east; and that it flows past the

* For further particulars of the Magia, vide Lander's Journal, and his Wanderings in Africa.

following towns,—Wadi, Senai, and Tooah; that it is very large, and has several communications with smaller branches.— Bashere and several other Arabs have been here many months. Bashere was very glad to see Mr. Lander, and frequently expressed his regret at the death of Captain Clapperton.

The Arabs appear to be jealous of our establishing a trade, and represent the King of the Felatahs as a harsh, cruel, and unfeeling man. One of them has been at Rabbah several months, having sold some horses to the king, for slaves and cowries, but has not yet received payment, being constantly put off with promises.

On inquiring what had become of Ali, an Arab mentioned in Mr. Lander's Journal as having sold two horses belonging to Gadado of Soccatoo, Bashere told us, that after waiting for three years, he died suddenly: it was supposed that poison had been administered to him by order of the treacherous King of the Felatahs.

Some Arabs were now going to Bornou, trading in red caps, and raw silk, and trona. They had purchased great quantities of writing-paper from us; this article being in great demand among the Mallams, who use it for writing

charms upon. Some other Arabs were also going to Timbuctoo, which is represented to be ten or fifteen days' journey (nearly five hundred miles) from Rabbah, and not situate on the banks of the Niger, but about twenty miles inland. A channel of the Niger, we are told, runs before the town, and rejoins the main river a little below it.

Bashere, who calls me Ras Kabul, or Doctor, frequently came on board. He was labouring under consumption: I frequently administered medicine to him, as well as to many other Arabs, and they all appeared to place great confidence in whatever I prescribed for them. We were told to-day, that there were two or three camels in the town, two live ostriches, and a great number of jackasses for sale.

On Tuesday, 1st of October, the king again sent a messenger, inviting us to go on shore and take some goods with us for his inspection, adding that we might be assured that he was our friend.

In the evening we visited the old King of Zagoshie. He had been indisposed, and I gave him some medicine, which relieved him. He sent for two large pots of beer, and (as is cus-

tomary with kings) some Goora nuts. We were seated upon a leopard's skin, and we enjoyed the beer, which was exceedingly good. This old king had almost daily sent us a pot containing about two gallons. After eating some Goora nuts, and holding an unimportant conversation, we left him, having caused the collection of a great number of natives, who were assembled around us, viewing us with the greatest astonishment.

On our return on board we found that a messenger from the Prince of Rabbah (Osiman's eldest son) had been on board, bringing a most beautiful saddle-cloth of ostrich feathers, composed of two ostrich skins sewed together:—the feathers were about twenty inches long; the size of the skins, six feet by four. He wanted in return some goods and rum: Mr. Lander sent one bottle of rum only, and the chief very naturally refused accepting so small a trifle. This was the greatest curiosity and the most valuable one we had met with, and it was a great pity that it was not purchased.

Since our arrival at Rabbah, a great number of natives, male and female, had applied to me for relief from cataract. It was really distressing to find so many wretched creatures deprived of

their sight from this dreadful malady. One poor man, a native of Zagoshie, was suffering from cataract of both eyes, and appeared to be a proper subject for operation. I proposed it to him, and he seemed quite willing to undergo it; and had our stay not been so short, I should certainly have made the trial. There were several cases of ulcers (kraw, kraw, a severe form of the itch). Some patients suffering from fever were brought to me for advice: I likewise had several children under me, afflicted with diseases incident to irritation of the gums.

One morning a very handsome Felatah girl was brought to me by her mother, who appeared very ready to answer all my questions. When I wished to examine the girl's tongue, her mother seemed very reluctant; and when I attempted to feel her pulse, she was highly indignant. The girl herself was very willing, but the old lady thought I should have recourse to charms, it being the custom of the Mallams to write something on a piece of paper, and then washing the ink off with water, to give the draught to the patient. She had no idea of my touching her daughter, and told the interpreter, that she was afraid if I came in contact with the girl,

she would never recover, since I was an unbeliever! The invalid was one of the finest girls I have seen in the country, and her mother had some reason for her solicitude about her. Her colour was a light brown, her features regularly formed, beautiful black eyes, Grecian nose, a small mouth, with teeth as white as ivory. There was nothing denoting the thick lips or flat nose of the negro; in fact, the contrary was the case. Her arms and legs were encircled with bands of copper.

From the number of patients waiting for relief, the yard in the morning resembled an infirmary. There were three or four of the king's people, and Moosa, one of his sons, among the applicants. Some of my patients would give me a couple of ducks, some a goat, some a sheep, and others fowls; and I must acknowledge that their presents were very acceptable, as the meat we purchased in the market was in general destitute of fat: a piece of beef weighing six or seven pounds cost about a thousand cowries, or near one shilling sterling. Range of the thermometer on shore at Rabbah: maximum 102°, minimum 68°.

The city of Rabbah contains a population of

nearly forty thousand, natives of Houssa, Yarriba, Ibbodo, and the Nufie countries. Their religion is pagan and Mahomedan. The only mosque which I saw at Rabbah (though I was informed there were three others) was built in a large square surrounded by a high wall: it is partly covered over, and will contain about two thousand persons.

The Felatahs * of Rabbah subsist by plundering the weak towns and levying contributions on them. Rabbah is governed by a king or chief, and several elder Mallams: the principal are Mallam Dendo† (the present king's father), Marmadoo, Moosa, and Mahomedoo.

Before undertaking anything important or declaring war, the king is obliged to summon a council of Mallams and the principal people. When his people are successful, which is too frequently the case, the spoils are divided; the king reserving to himself the greatest share.

* The Felatahs are about five feet ten in height, very straight and muscular. They have small heads and woolly hair: I looked in vain for Felatahs with straight hair, but I did not find one. Their complexion is a little brighter than that of the natives of the neighbouring towns; they have small noses, thin lips, rather a handsome mouth, and an intelligent expression of countenance.

† Since dead, as noticed in the journal.

On our first visit, it was a matter of some difficulty to ascertain who was really king, owing to the African policy of concealing him from strangers until their views and intentions are known to be peaceful. In pursuing this custom several persons are represented as chiefs and equal in power to the king, in order to procure presents for each, which are generally divided among them, the king invariably having the advantage. Osiman the present king was son to Mallam Dendo, a very aged man: he was reported to be a great and successful warrior, and appeared to be respected by his soldiers.

Rabbah is tributary to Sultan Bello of Soccatoo, who occasionally sends soldiers to assist the Rabbah army in plundering excursions. King Osiman frequently urged the necessity of our going to Soccatoo overland, to visit Bello, who, he assured us, "would be glad to see us and give us anything our hearts wished for." The King of Rabbah can command five thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry. He is daily purchasing horses to add to his troops, who are armed with poisoned arrows and spears, which they hurl with unerring aim a considerable distance. The soldiers also wear knives

inside their arms, buckled round the wrist, and also swords slung carelessly over the left shoulder,—which latter are brought from Tripoli by the Arabs. They look upon fire-arms with great dread; and the only weapon of this kind we met with was a double-barrelled pistol, with the maker's name (I think, Richardson, London) between the barrels. Mr. Lander recognised it as the pistol of the late Captain Pearce, who died on his way up the country with Captain Clapperton. Mr. Lander exchanged another pistol for it, Captain Pearce's pistol being broken. I am very much afraid that this pistol was lost when Mr. Lander was attacked, afterwards.

The army of Rabbah is composed of liberated slaves, whose freedom is granted them on consideration of their taking up arms. In the winter or wet season they follow their ordinary occupations; and in the summer or dry season, when the Quorra is low, they assemble from all parts of the kingdom of Houssa, Soccatoo, Kano, &c. They travel very quickly, taking the unsuspecting inhabitants by surprise. They seldom fail in capturing hundreds of prisoners, as well as cattle, horses, &c.

The slaves are disposed of to the Arabs; and some are sold at towns on the banks of the Niger, and eventually reach the sea-side, where they are shipped on board Spanish slavers. The Felatah army of Rabbah is commanded by several Bornouese.

The finest horses are brought from Soccatoo by the Arabs; they are all entire, and capable of enduring great fatigue. The white horse, the property of the king, which was eating grass at one side of the apartment in which we held our first audience, was a noble animal, about sixteen hands high, and in England would be worth about a hundred and fifty guineas. The horses between Rabbah and Iddah, the latter being the first town where many are met with, are of a much smaller breed, and very sure-footed: they are to be purchased at Iccory market (the Bocqua of Lander), for sixty thousand cowries (three pounds). I purchased a beautiful Felatah mare, which I presented afterwards to Colonel Nichols, Governor of Fernando Po, for eight yards of yellow cloth, two pieces of chintz, and fourteen yards of printed cotton—(about fifty-six shillings sterling). The saddles used are peaked before and behind, in the Turkish fashion, and stuffed

with cotton, covered with dyed leather made from sheepskin.

The process of tanning is simple. The skin is steeped in water, and rubbed with wood-ashes; and by repeated immersions the hair is taken off, as well as the adipose substance. It is then rubbed between the hands until it becomes as white and pliable as French kid: at this stage it is used for drums. It is then thrown into the dye-pit, a red dye having been produced by macerating the stalks of the corn, named by the natives dower (a small red corn, the *Sorghum dora* of Persoon), with a yellow back, resembling the *Cinchona cordifolia*. It is then allowed to remain several days; when it is taken out to dry, and converted into saddles, horses' head ornaments, sandals, &c.

Rabbah carries on an extensive traffic, and from its favourable position, in the centre of a populous country,— Soccatoo, Kano, and the Houssa country on the east side, and the Yarriba on the west,—might be made a place of considerable trade. The Arabs carry on an extensive traffic in horses, asses, raw silk, red caps from Tripoli, armlets, anklets, and trona (*carbonas soda impura*), which is used as a substitute

for salt, as a medicine by the natives, and is given to the cattle: pulverised, it is mixed with snuff, and whole handfuls of this disgusting mixture is put into the mouth, so as to incapacitate any person from speaking.

The produce of the country around Rabbah consists of yams, onions, dower corn, geero (a species of millet-seed), Indian corn, rice, and sweet potatoes: they have fine cows, sheep, goats, and fowls in abundance. They trade in ivory, indigo, ostriches, camels, leopard-skins, and bees'-wax,—which latter is made by Mallams. We obtained several pounds of it; and I have no doubt, from the great proportion of honey collected by the natives, that, if their attention were directed to bees'-wax, immense quantities of this article might be collected annually.

Kafilas of merchants, Arabs from Tripoli, Soccatoo, Kano, and the Houssa country, were at Rabbah during our stay. Several of the Arabs were acquainted with the English consul at Tripoli, and they stated the journey to that place as nine months.

Ali, an intelligent Arab, once inquired of us the reason why England had been at war with the Turks at Navarino. He said it was no use

for the Turks to attempt to defeat the Christians; that he knew the power of the Nazarenes (Christians) too well; he had seen very large ships at Trapelaz (Tripoli), belonging to the King of the Nazarenes, on the becken-roa (salt water), and our vessel, the Alhurkah, was the same as a needle to ships he had seen at that place. The king's master of the horse and several Mallams were present at this assertion by Ali of the power of England, who raised their eyes, exclaiming "Garsah!" (Wonderful!)

Senna leaves are sold in great quantities, in large calabashes, at the markets. I inquired from the Arabs if there were any gums in the country, at the same time showing them a piece of gum acacia: they replied, "Plenty to the eastward."

The Felatahs are fond of dancing and other amusements, and, like all the Africans I have met with, pass their nights at new and full moon in this amusement: young females are particularly partial to it. Their dancing movements consist in forming themselves into a circle, and advancing and retiring; when one girl will break the circle: at a given signal she advances, and falls into the arms of several who stand

ready to catch her. I recollect watching about twenty Felatah girls, with Lieutenant Allen, at this amusement, and we were both much pleased with their innocent ways. The natives all play a game with river-stones, or kernels of nuts, by placing them in a piece of wood bored with seven holes.

After the decease of Mallam Dendo, it was reported that Sultan Bello, of Soccatoo, was dead. The death of the king is generally concealed from the natives, in order to prevent any neighbouring chief or sovereign from taking any advantages or making war, as there is generally a dispute as to the successor. In order to conceal Bello's death and account for his absence, it was circulated throughout the country that he *had merely gone up into the clouds to look at the salt water!* The Felatahs are of opinion, that if they could once reach the salt water, they could conquer the whole world.

The opinions of several intelligent Arabs with whom I conversed respecting the river and its course was, that the Quorra ran through two countries, Nufie and Ibbodo, and afterwards to the eastward, to Lake Tchad; and that there were more than five or six rivers running in and

out of the lake in various directions. They would not believe me when I told them that the Quorra did not run into the Lake Tchad, but that the Shary ran into the Quorra. Ali, the Arab, was so confident of the Quorra running into the Lake Tchad, that he was quite anxious to accompany us, and to take with him his slaves, as he was then on the point of going to Bornou.

Timbuctoo was described as a large manufacturing town, situate inland from the Quorra, communicating with the Niger by a creek which runs at the foot of the town. It is said that the population is immense, and that the Moors and Arabs, with large kafilas, trade there with goods of British manufacture.

The Felatah ladies are very particular in adorning and ornamenting their persons: their toilet occupies them several hours, and preparations for it are commenced the night before, by laying the leaves of henna, moistened, to the toes and finger-nails, and hands; on the following morning the leaves are removed, the parts being stained a beautiful purple colour. They have an extraordinary practice of staining the teeth with the acid of the Goora nut and

indigo, by which a blue colour is produced: a yellow dye is produced by mixing the Goora nut with a small shrub; the four front teeth of the upper and lower jaw are dyed, one of a blue, the next its natural colour — white; the next purple, and the next yellow. The eyelids then take up great attention: they are pencilled with the sulphuret of antimony, which, contrasted with their ebony countenances, and the conjunctiva, or white of the eye, gives them an expressive appearance. Their hair (or wool) is another important part: seven or eight attendants are employed moistening the indigo for it. The hair is plaited in perpendicular knots of four or five inches long, and then bedaubed all over with the moistened indigo; after which the hair resembles a helmet in appearance. Several mornings in the week, they besmear themselves all over, from head to foot, with a red pigment, prepared from red wood brought from the Eboe country: it is supposed to possess a tonic quality, and also to lighten the colour of the skin and correct the fetor of perspiration. They are clean in their persons, and perform their ablutions twice a day in the river. The lobes of the ears are bored very large, and studs are worn,

made of small stones and pieces of cornelian: a few of the females wore bells and buttons, which we had given them.

They appear to have no remedies or medicines for the numerous diseases to which they are liable, and place great confidence in charms written by the Mallams, who thus impose upon their credulity, and whose influence over the poor creatures is unbounded. Shampooing is a favourite, and, I believe, successful remedy, in chronic rheumatism and pains of the limbs. Their mourning consists in wearing pieces of cotton thread round their ankles, wrists, and necks; they are worn for three months: they also besmear their foreheads with wood-ashes.

I have previously alluded to the dances of the young people of Rabbah: those of the adults are not so interesting to an European to witness. Their dance is a succession of painful efforts, commencing with a very slow and solemn step; the performers stamping with each foot, bending the body, and lowering the shoulders, and dropping the arms carelessly by their sides. They then make the most prodigious springs and vehement pirouettes, with extravagant contortions

of the muscles, accompanied with similar action of the muscles of the face, and hop about until they fall down breathless from exertion.

The marriage of the natives is merely a civil compact, to be dissolved when the man thinks proper. If a pagan pays his addresses to a girl, and after a short time finds she is "all his fancy painted her," he sends the parents a present of cloth, an elephant's tooth, probably some cowries, or anything he may happen to have by him at the time. If these articles are accepted, and the father considers them an equivalent for the loss of his daughter's services, the girl leaves her father's house, and if a virgin, she is covered round her loins with a shawl or cloth, presented by her lover, having worn nothing but a piece of leather or a few strings of cowries round the loins previously: dancing takes place, palm-wine and beer are drunk, and all are happy for a time. Should the man in the course of time become tired of the girl, he sends her home, giving her some small present.

According to Lander's account, Kano is a place of considerable importance: the indigo manufactured by the inhabitants has the reputation of producing a richer and more permanent

dye than is met with in any other part of Africa whatever.

In the Nufie country and Houssa, Islamism prevails in a greater or less degree.

According to Lander,* in Yarriba and Borghoo, as well as in several other countries, when women find themselves *enceinte*, they must immediately inform their husbands of the circumstance, or in attempt at concealment are publicly flogged. The same punishment is also inflicted on females who are known to associate with the other sex before the expiration of three years after the birth of an infant; that being the period mothers are obliged to suckle their offspring.

* Wanderings in Africa.

CHAPTER XI.

Depart for the Sea.— A Tornado.— The Sultan's Tax-gatherers.—Surgical aid in request.—Land at Egga —Trade there.—The Market at Egga —The Mallam —The Smith's Forge.—Depart from Egga.—Anchor off Ibbodoh (Kacundah).— Cuttum-Curaffee.—Addacoodah.—Bocqua Market. —Iddah.— Visit from Abboka.— Interview with Attah —His Generalship.—Native Ingenuity in Trading.—Purchase of English Island from Abboka.—Formal Visit to Attah.—His Character.—Mr. Brown left on English Island.

On Wednesday, October 2nd, at 7 A. M. the steam being up, we got under weigh, on our return down the river. The morning was remarkably fine, and the current being in our favour, in a very short time we were out of sight of the city of Rabbah. About nine we ran aground; but by laying out an anchor judiciously, after an hour's work we got off and continued on our voyage.

At 1 P. M. the weather became dark, heavy clouds began to gather with every symptom of a tornado; which induced us to anchor. The wind,

blowing from the south, suddenly increased to a gale, which continued about an hour; the water curled, and the house erected over the quarter-deck was in great danger of being blown away, and had it not been supported to windward by five or six men, it would inevitably have been lost. The sides of the little vessel were level with the water, which washed in over her decks.

As soon as it became fine, we sent the Kroomen on shore for wood. Some Felatahs who were near them made their escape among the grass. The moon on rising presented a very novel appearance, being quite a blood-red colour.

Thursday, October 3rd.—At 9. 15, got under weigh. At a small town where we stopped for a few minutes, we found a respectable man, a native of Ibbodoh, from which place he had been carried prisoner during the late plundering excursions of the restless Felatahs, and purchased by a person at this town. The poor fellow was anxious to return with us to join his family, and promised, if we would ransom him, he would repay us on his arrival at his native town. Four yards of yellow cloth were offered and accepted for him. The poor man came on board expressing his gratitude for his redemption from perpetual slavery.

About noon we passed Forsyth's Peak, and a town named Addah, where Mr. Lander and his brother stopped on coming down the river. Having landed to inspect the town, the chief was very happy to see the Christians, as we were termed, and to behold Mr. Lander once more. When we first landed, the women had concealed themselves; but finding that we were friends, they soon reappeared from their hiding-places.

We continued on our voyage, and anchored off Point Laird.* At 3. 40 P. M. Mr. Allen and myself landed abreast Lairdook. The natives were very civil, and expressed a desire that we should make war upon the Felatahs. We obtained some sheep, eggs, &c.

A canoe came alongside, from a town lying under the Rennell range, named Egbo, having two or three Felatah tax-gatherers in her. These men were appointed to receive the amounts due to the King of Rabbah from those whose duty it was to take them from the people. Mr. Lander thought that seizing the king's cowries collected for taxes would be redeeming in part the debt due to us. One of the Felatahs

* The soil of Laird's Point is steatite: near to it are sandstone and rocks of volcanic formation.

came on board, and was immediately seized; and the other, with his wives, made off with all possible despatch. The boat was manned, and I went in pursuit of him. Finding himself so closely pressed, he ran the canoe into a small creek under the town of Egbo, at the foot of the Rennell range of mountains; and before reaching the landing-place, he threw himself overboard, swam ashore, and, gliding among grass upwards of twenty or twenty-five feet high, effected his escape. I seized his canoe, and took it alongside of the vessel; there were twenty-six thousand cowries in it, which, being placed to the credit of the Sullikeen Felarney, reduced his debt to a hundred and thirty-four thousand cowries.—Rennell Mountains are called by the natives Jennum Sagum Jinna.

On the following morning we released the Felatah whom we had seized. He confessed that it was the intention of the king and chiefs to get us all on shore and poison us, and afterwards to seize the steamer. We returned his canoe, and every thing in it except the cowries, telling him that payment of the debt was all that was required.

Two men were left at Rabbah;—Mina the in-

terpreter, and Clarke from Fernando Po. They were both aware of the time of our departure: we suspected they were detained by the King of the Felatahs.

In the morning we had two heavy tornadoes, the wind being south-west and west. Soon after, we observed two canoes with Felatahs in them, one of which was also full of women, and we landed, accompanied by our Kroomen. One of the Felatahs, to show his respect, knelt down before us, at the same time laying his sword on the ground. I took his weapon and ordered one of the men to take charge of him. I had hold of his tobe at the time; when, perceiving our intentions, he suddenly dashed into the bush, and ran into a pool of stagnant water, where he remained immersed up to the arms. The Kroomen were armed with cutlasses. We however left him, and made one of the Felatahs prisoner.

There were six women in the canoe, which was heavily laden with corn, cotton, yams, calavances, and rice, which these Felatahs had seized there, and were taking them to Rabbah to sell: they were much pleased on being informed we would give them their liberty. The women were taken to Egga, and the following day all

their goods were returned, for which the gratitude of the poor creatures was unbounded. We purchased almost all their yams at their own price.

Shortly after we had anchored off Egga, Moosa, a young man, said to be one of the king's sons, came on board. We ordered him to be seized and secured in irons. Mr. Lander explained to him the cause of this treatment, and told him if he would pay the amount of cowries due to us he should be liberated. He repeatedly called out, "Anabi Moosa, Anabi Moosa;" which we could not comprehend—unless it meant that he was the son of an old man of that name at Rabbah. He was treated with every possible kindness, and his companion allowed to go on shore to procure the cowries for his release.

In the course of the evening Moosa confirmed the statements made by the Felatahs a day or two ago, and added, that the king had sent his people down the river to attack the steamers at their anchorage at Addacoodah, at the time so many towns were plundered and burnt by them; and that when Sullikeen Yiki found the steamers to be so large, he and his followers dared not venture to attack them.

On the morning of the 5th, Mina, the interpreter, left at Rabbah, overtook us. He stated that the king would not permit him to depart, telling him that we should certainly return, for he could not think we were going away. The other man, Clarke, preferred remaining with the Felatahs, stating that he had found his brother there.

The King of Egga's son became responsible for the payment of one hundred and thirty-five thousand cowries in six days, and in consequence Prince Moosa was liberated.

This morning a slave of the old Mallam's came on board. He had a large tumour, the size of a duck's egg, on the temple, near the internal angle of the eye. I proposed its removal, to which he assented, and with Lieutenant Allen's assistance I effected it. The patient never shrank during the operation, and the natives on board testified their surprise and astonishment by all manner of gestures, exclaiming, "Garsah!" (Wonderful!)

The Felatahs, who claim all the bravery to themselves, are to a man dastardly poltroons, and have met with their astonishing good fortune, not by open, manly courage, but by treach-

ery, deceit, and cunning,—by imposing on the superstitious fears of the simple aborigines, and by artfully insinuating themselves into the good opinion of the very people it was their secret intention to enslave. It would not be just to say that they have greater positive courage than the negro; but they have less pusillanimity and more shrewdness than he has.

The following morning, it was reported at Egga, that if any of our people went on shore, the Felatahs would cut their heads off. In the evening the Kroomen went ashore; when the boasters ran away and left the town, not one having the courage to remain.

On Monday, October 7th, a messenger from Ederesa came on board in the morning: he stated that Ederesa had nearly recovered from the ulceration, and that his general health was much improved. A gentleman on shore, a relative of the king, sent me a present of a tobe, with a request that I would pay him a visit: as I had to go on shore to see the Mallam respecting the cowries, I proposed complying with his request.

At 10 A. M. I waited on the Mallam. He was a rich old man, and the same person who had

given us a bullock when we were on our way up to Rabbah. I wished him to accompany me on board; but he durst not venture, from the fear, as he said, that "we should take him to our country, and there kill him and eat him!" He stated, that he had been told that white men seduce the blacks from their homes to devour them, and afterwards dye red cloth with their blood! I endeavoured to convince him of the absurdity of these tales, telling him that we had plenty of live stock, such as bullocks, goats, sheep, &c. the same as in his own country; but it did not appear that I succeeded. He sent for some beer, which was excellent, and placed a leopard's skin for me to sit down on. As usual, there were people congregated in the yard out of mere curiosity: indeed, it was not without considerable difficulty that I could get a little fresh air. One of the slaves was continually employed in using a whip, with eight thongs, made of the skin of the hippopotamus, with which he kept back the pressing crowd.

The town of Egga is situate on the bank of a creek communicating with the Niger. A low swampy ground lies opposite to it. From one extreme to the other the town may be about two

miles long, irregularly built of mud, with the passages inconveniently narrow.

On the following day, messengers were sent for the cowries due from the king's son; but, to our surprise, we found that he had decamped, and that the old monarch knew nothing of the affair between his son and us. It was very annoying to be cheated and laughed at every hour; but we had no remedy, and resolved on making another trial. We got under weigh, and laid the steamer as near to the town as we could; and the interpreters, with Jowdie and some others, were sent on shore to the old Mallam with a threatening message. An immense number of people were assembled, many of whom were armed. The decks were cleared, the guns loaded, and every preparation made in case the natives should attack our party; but in a short time we had the satisfaction of seeing the interpreters return, bringing with them six large bags of cowries, with a dash of a goat and some yams. This in some measure repaid us for our want of success at Rabbah: we had at length obtained payment, and had not been duped by the natives. At night we beat the drum, and indulged the Kroomen with some beer and a dance upon the decks;

which they enjoyed, although the night was extremely sultry.

Our anchoring before the town induced the natives to come on board the next day. The old Mallam also came, and gave an order for one hunded red caps, at two thousand cowries each: he promised us every encouragement if we would remain and assist him in driving away the Felatahs. This Mallam is the most powerful person in the Nufie country, and a great supporter of the exiled Ederesa. The natives are mostly pagans, and had made a fetish of a fowl, which they had placed abreast the vessel, on a pole about six feet high.

On the following day (October 11th), being apprehensive the water in the creek might fall and leave us aground, at 6 A. M. we removed into the main branch of the river.

The indigo is mixed with grass, and formed into balls the size of a large orange. We purchased about one hundred and fifty pounds of it in a raw state: it produces a beautiful colour, but is not of a superior kind. The cloths made in the Nufie country, as well as the tobes, are of superior manufacture to any I have met with on the river. A good cloth may be purchased

at from six hundred to two thousand cowries; and a fine tobe may be had, dyed or plain, for about five or six thousand. A very lucrative trade might be carried on in country cloths, taken from this town to Cape Coast and Accrah.

Saturday, October 12th.—This morning the old Mallam again came on board, and ordered goods to the amount of seventy-four thousand cowries. He wished us much to stay, saying that he would purchase ten or twelve ship-loads of goods. He had two or three houses on shore filled with cowries, and was one of the most extensive traders in this part of the country.

We were rather disconcerted by the Kroomen coming aft this morning in a mutinous manner, and, for some reason we could not ascertain, refusing to do duty. Mr. Lander ordered them all instantly on shore; and after a little reasoning and threatening, they returned to their duty.

One of the wives of the master of the horse to the King of the Felatahs came on board this morning and made a few purchases. She told us that Abusettoo wept bitterly when she heard of our intended departure. This lady is the principal wife of Sullikeen Door Kee, master of the horse at Rabbah, and while we were on shore

there, often came to carouse with us, and would frequently send us presents of milk, butter, and eggs. During two or three days that I was unwell, I received boiled rice and other things from her; she likewise sent a young female slave to shampoo us. She was a Felatah woman about twenty-six years of age, with light complexion and regularly-formed features: she wore armlets of earthenware curiously stained, and brought across the Desert from Tripoli. She also followed the custom, before alluded to, which prevails among the women in this part, of staining the front teeth in the upper and lower jaw with different colours. These blended colours had a most singular appearance. The red colour is used in staining the finger and toe nails: the henna is moistened, and laid to the fingers overnight; in a few hours it assumes a bright red tinge.

A Felatah lady has generally ten or twelve waiting-maids, if she pretends to any rank, and the duties of the toilet occupy a much longer time than the most fastidious English belle, though they are celebrated for the importance which they attach to this very necessary duty.

Abusettoo had been married some time. It

was several days before we discovered that she was the wife of the master of the horse, and we asked her what her husband would say if he found her conversing with Christians. Her reply was, that he was her brother, and not her husband; telling us at the same time, "I like white men, and never saw one before. I wish you would live with us for ever! What a pity you are not Mussulmans and believers of the Prophet!"

Sunday, October 13th.—This morning I went on shore, and walked through several parts of the town, the market-place, &c. The market is very large: the sellers sit on the ground with their goods before them, consisting of plain and dyed tobes, cloths, sandals, country bits, saddles, bridles, beads (some of English manufacture), iron, and the sulphurate of antimony (black lead), indigo in a raw state, senna leaves, armlets of copper, wooden spoons, bowls, calabashes, calavances, spice nuts, pepper, sweet potatoes, onions, and various other commodities. Most of the shops of the large traders reminded me of a toy-shop in England. It is customary here, as well as in every other part of Africa, to get the most for every article; and they are sure to ask four or five times as much for anything as

they will take. If an offer is made which the seller thinks too little, he replies, "Al burkah!" (a blessing) — "Cour de nour?" (How many cowries?)—"Alburkah!" It was very entertaining to hear them bartering and trading.

From the market I went to several yards and dye-houses. In most of the dye-yards there were nine large pots four feet by three, with larger ones sunk in the ground. The principal articles employed to obtain the dye were trona, and the bark of a tree resembling the *cortis cinchor*, and indigo in its natural state. The indigo appeared of a superior quality; and, no doubt, if these people possessed better means, they might bring the art of dyeing to much greater perfection. The sides of several of the vessels were perforated with holes to allow the liquor to run off; and in the yard were tobes, cloths, and leather, undergoing the process of dyeing. The glazed appearance on the tobes, which have a coppery colour, is produced by rollers of wood pressed on them. On one side of the yard spinning and weaving were going forward, the spinning-walk being about thirty yards long. The process of weaving is similar to what I have before observed in Africa: it is conduct-

ed by one man, who has an instrument something like our shuttle, which he runs through the threads perpendicularly, instead of horizontally, as is the case with our weavers. The widths are not more than three or four inches. Their cotton is exceedingly fine, but I believe there is but little of it cultivated.

In passing through the streets, a native brought a fine pelican for sale, of which I became the purchaser. An ostrich's skin was likewise shown me; but it had worms in it, and was consequently worthless.

On my return through the town, I met the old Mallam, to whom I have alluded above, leaning on his staff like some hoary-headed pilgrim. He invited me into his house, where I found six of his wives counting cowries; and after being seated, he inquired of me the time of our departure. I replied, in a day or two. At this he expressed much regret, and said, that if we would stay and live there, he would spend all his cowries in trading with us. As a further inducement, he promised that if I would remain, I might have any ten of his wives I thought proper. This was, no doubt, as far as he could go; but I told him that we never had

more than one at home: at which he seemed much surprised, and exclaimed, "Never mind; —I will give you that fine black-eyed girl for a wife," (pointing to an interesting female about ten years old,) "if you will only stay and live with us. I have plenty of houses, cowries, slaves, and bullocks, and plenty for all of you to eat."

In this strain did the old Mallam talk for some time, till, finding that all his persuasions were unavailing, he said, "Well, if you will go back to your own country, return again and bring plenty of trade," (meaning an abundant supply of goods,) "and stay at Egga until the river falls again." This respectable old man expressed great regret on my leaving the place: he had heard, he said, a great deal of white men,—he should like to see them living in his country, and he would preserve them from all difficulties and dangers.

At a short distance from the Mallam's, I heard some smiths at work, and took an opportunity as I passed of inspecting the forge. There were two fires, with a wall about four feet high. The fires were placed on the inner side of the wall, while a boy was working two goats'-skins sewed together, one end terminating in a point.

This rude substitute for bellows was inserted in an aperture in the wall which led to the fire, and was worked by a little boy, who appeared to understand his office very well. There were two smiths at work making axes, iron braces, and nails for canoes: their hammers were large pieces of iron, while stones supplied the place of anvils, and charcoal was used for the fire.—I also visited a manufactory where upwards of twelve persons were employed in making wooden spoons.

The next day our boat was sent ashore with Mr. Brown to the old Mallam, to receive some cowries which he owed us; and at 6 A. M. we got under weigh, leaving the long-boat to follow. In our progress we passed some very beautiful views, and a small town, situated on the declivity of a hill, and partly concealed by trees. Several patches of cultivated ground on the summit of the hill contributed greatly to the richness of the scenery. We descended the stream at a rapid rate, and at 11. 30 anchored off Ibbodo (Kacundah).

In the afternoon, the canoe was sent ashore to the king's residence, and an old trader came on board, who was asked if he had seen or heard

of a steamer being at Bocqua, as we had been informed at Egga; to which he replied in the negative, and said, that the natives of Kacundah had gone to the market. He brought two scrivelloes with him.—The rainy season was now nearly over; and the atmosphere at night was charged with electricity,—frequent flashes of forked lightning illuminating the country for miles around.

At 7 the following morning (15th of October) we got under weigh from Kacundah, but found great difficulty in keeping up the steam. Passed Barker's Mountain; at the foot of which is a river, which, from its direction, appeared to come from among the hills in the Yarriba country. We now once more found ourselves among the high mountains, and the scenery around was very picturesque.

At 11 A. M. we anchored abreast of Cuttum-Curaffee, the residence of Sullikeen Fofo (the King of the Gate), who came on board. We afterwards dropped down the stream to Attakankee, about 5 P. M. and at 6 came to an anchor.

On Wednesday, the 16th of October, at 7 A. M. we got under weigh; and at 8 we passed Stirling, at the confluence of the Tchadda and Niger.

The vast expanse of water in this place had a fine appearance. The Tchadda seemed so wide, that we doubted whether or not it had permanently fallen since we left it: I thought it appeared much larger.

At 8. 40 we anchored off Addacoodah. Several canoes came from the town, and the natives appeared quite overjoyed when we informed them that we had put several of their enemies, the Felatahs, in irons.

I went ashore in the afternoon; and the first object I saw was a very gigantic tree, twelve yards and eight inches in circumference. I soon found it was considered sacred, and had several arrows stuck in it, from which were suspended fowls, several sorts of birds, and many other things, which had been offered by the natives to it as a deity.—We found a great alteration had taken place here since our last visit: the dye-pits were now at work, the old houses were rebuilt, new ones erected, and the town appeared thickly inhabited.

Ibrahim, who left Mr. Laird at Fundah, was on the opposite side of the river, and reported that the King of Fundah had deprived him of all his goods. This Ibrahim is the person men-

tioned by Mr. Lander in his Journal as having made away with some goods: he had not forgotten his old practices, and had acted the rogue to Mr. Laird; another proof that there is no reliance to be placed in these people.

The natives of Addacoodah collect the spawn of fishes; roast it, after forming it into balls, which are covered with plantain or banana leaf, about the size of an orange. It is very sweet eating. I have purchased upwards of one hundred of these balls a day, sufficient for all hands for three days.

We continued our course down the river on the following morning, leaving the pretty town of Addacoodah, where, during our short stay, we purchased more than two hundred weight of ivory. The dulness of the morning, accompanied with a kind of drizzling rain, completely concealed the beautiful mountain-scenery from our view; and about an hour before noon, we anchored abreast of Bocqua market.

A great number of canoes were there; but the traders appeared shy and durst not visit us. The difference in the appearance of the natives at this market was very striking: many of them

wore handkerchiefs of English manufacture, and some few had on blue jackets.

We sent our Kroomen on shore for a supply of wood; and having obtained it, we proceeded on about 4 P. M. and dropped down the current while the steam was getting up. Soon after we passed a very pretty island near the Bocqua market, on the left side of the river, which was named Smart's Island.

At 6. 45, it being very dark, we anchored a few miles from Iddah. The difference of climate was here very perceptible: we found the atmosphere cold and hazy. The transition to us was also very sudden, having been sixteen days coming from Rabbah, ten of which we were lying at anchor off Egga; and we were only thirty hours under weigh in reaching this place from Rabbah.

The morning of Friday, the 18th, set in with a fine breeze. We sent for a supply of wood, and soon after anchored abreast of Iddah, and Abboka's Island. The interpreter, Mina, was sent to the king with a conciliatory message. Abraham, a boy from Cape Coast, and brought from Prince's Island by Mr. Lander, was taken ill of acute dysentery.

On the next morning we were informed that the king would send horses for us to the water-side. It being Mr. Lander's intention that I should return up the river as soon as the steamer reached the Nun, he was desirous of telling this to the king. Mr. Lander had named this to me; and, in the event of Mr. Laird's having departed for England, I could have no objection to take on me such a charge, in order to keep up our connexion with the natives, until further orders arrived from England.

Our friend Abboka came on board, and appeared delighted to see us. His customary embraces were very severe hugs; and the usual manner of salutation was gone through, viz. touching the forehead and chest with the fore-finger of the right hand, as frequently as they exclaim "Tenoo! tenoo!" which is sometimes repeated a dozen times.

About 9 A. M. the horses came down to the landing-place, and we departed for the king's residence. On our arrival we were conducted to the queen's apartment, where we remained a short time, until one of the eunuchs came to inform us that the king was ready. He received us most cordially, and frequently shook us by

the hand. We presented him with a large umbrella, and received a tooth in return, weighing forty-four pounds. Mr. Lander inquired if, when the vessel came up again, he would supply us with ivory; and whether, in case we left Mr. Brown at Iddah, he would protect him and trade with him for teeth. To this he replied in the affirmative, and, as usual, said that he had abundance of ivory to sell.—A great number of eunuchs were present, as well as a great number of gentlemen from the city.

The queen, with four of her daughters, attended by three eunuchs, came on board the next day, and brought some ivory as a present.

We found here an old man named Aggary, a subject of King Pepple's at Bonny, with rum, iron bars, and cloth, trading for slaves. He was in the same canoe with Mr. Lander when that gentleman was taken prisoner at Kinee: Mr. Lander had promised to give him a pistol, which was not forgotten by the old man; for when he came on board, the first thing he did was to call out, "Pesto, pesto!" His appearance was very singular: he was "blind of one eye, and squinted with the other;" and his left leg was about two inches shorter than its fellow. From him we

learned that the steamer, the Quorra, was on the Big Water (meaning the sea), and had been at Calebar. . . . . .

On Tuesday, October 22nd, Mr. Lander being indisposed, and unable to wait upon the king with goods according to appointment, I attended, taking with me Mr. Brown, the clerk, and some men to carry them. I had little or no success, in consequence of the exorbitant demands of his majesty, who wanted a bale of red cloth for a very small tooth; and, after opening and disordering all the articles, he told us he would send his queen down, and we might leave the goods. To this proposal, however, I refused to assent. I made an offer of a quantity of goods for a tooth; but it being rejected, I ordered them to be again packed up. He urged me strongly to leave them; but I told him that white men never transacted business in that manner, and that if he would give me the teeth, I would return goods to what I considered an equivalent amount. . . . . .

He told us that he had a house full of ivory, and despatched some eunuchs for two large teeth. In a few minutes they came. He exultingly asked, "Can you afford to buy them?"

at the same moment two magnificent teeth were brought in, exceeding in size anything of the sort I had ever seen. At the roots they were about two feet and a half in circumference, and gradually tapered to the point: it took two able-bodied slaves to carry one of them: they were each about eight feet long, and of a dark tinge. I endeavoured in my own mind to picture the enormous size of an animal capable of carrying such a weight attached to his head. I should suppose that each tooth could not have weighed less than from two hundred to two hundred and fifty pounds. We had one on board, weighing one hundred and forty pounds, which we purchased when off Addacoodah, and those which we then saw were nearly twice as large.—The king asked me if we had goods sufficient to purchase them: to which I replied, we had, provided he did not ask more than their real value. I inquired what he would take for them, as I should like to come to an agreement before going on board; but he replied, they were the king of teeth (Sullikeen Gewaws).

His majesty then began to talk of the war with the Felatahs, and, like a bad general, disclosed his plans. He told me with much warmth of

the manner that the King of Fundah would assist him; that they were determined to conquer their enemies, and that if he were inferior to them in numbers, he would have recourse to stratagem, by deserting the town on the approach of the Felatahs, and when they had entered, he would close upon them and cut them to pieces. After he had made this important communication, he laughed excessively, evidently satisfied with himself for having devised so ingenious a plan of attack. Notwithstanding his high vaunting, I have no doubt that if only a dozen Felatahs were to appear, the king and his people would immediately abandon the town, without daring to return until the enemy were a hundred miles distant from it.

The queen intimated her intention to honour us with a visit the next day. I could not help smiling at a remark she made, to the effect that, when a king's daughter or head wife visits us on board, we ought to spread cloth over the decks for the bare feet of her majesty. This practice is sometimes adopted in palm-oil vessels; and I have no doubt but that Aggary, the King of Bonny's slave before-mentioned as trading here for slaves, first put the idea into her head.

The king certainly is not surpassed in avarice by any of his subjects; and trying various ways, he has resorted to the following ingenious stratagem for discovering the real value of an elephant's tooth:—A stranger, from the country, is directed to go on board the steamer with a tooth enclosed in dried grass, to give it the appearance of having been brought from a distance. He is instructed to ask as much as possible for it; and when he discovers the greatest quantity of goods likely to be offered, he is directed to say, "I cannot take the goods now, but I will go to my master at some neighbouring town" (which he mentions), "and will tell what you have offered." The next day, instead of the man bringing the tooth as expected, the queen or some of the eunuchs come on board with it, and ask the same quantity of goods for it, with some other articles, as guns, pieces of cloth, &c. in addition, because it is the king's ivory, and therefore he must have more for it. This shows considerable ingenuity and cunning on the part of the natives.

In the evening, at the express desire of the king, three rockets were fired.

The next morning we were anxiously expect-

ing the queen to come on board with a quantity of ivory for sale, as the king had promised she should bring plenty; a promise which induced Mr. Lander to prolong his stay. About 10 A. M. she came, but, to our surprise and mortification, brought only one tooth with her. Mr. Lander felt very indignant at being detained by such false expectations, and being determined on proceeding, steam was immediately ordered to be got up.

The queen was much disconcerted: she urged and importuned Mr. Lander to stay, stating that the king, her brother, had requested that the white men should go on shore to visit him the next day, and to send some goods for his inspection as a commencement of his trade with them, wishing us also to allow his subjects to do the same. The natives could not enter into any traffic with us unless they had first the royal consent; and this they never obtained until his majesty had selected all the best articles for himself.

One of two valuable necklaces intended as a present for the King and Queen of Boossa, from W. W. Hay, Esq. Colonial Office, was presented to Abboka by Mr. Lander, who received in return an island, lying abreast of Iddah,

which was called English Island. Abboka also promised to erect a large house for me to occupy on my return up the river.

The king having sent horses down to the river-side, Mr. Lander, Lieutenant Allen, and myself, with six Kroomen, and Jowdie as our drummer, landed with the union jack attached to a pole. Hundreds of the natives came out to see us pass by; and well they might, if it was only to hear the discordant sounds of our drum. On our way we joined Abboka, who was waiting to accompany us.

After a short stay in the queen's apartments, whither we were invariably conducted first, Goora-nuts and palm-wine being placed before us, a eunuch came to inform us that the king was ready to receive us. Attah, the king, is a very proud and cruel man: the whole of his eunuchs are compelled to shave the crown of the head, and his brother is forced to submit to the same form. On entering the king's apartments, Abboka was always obliged to repeat, "The king lives here; long may he live and reign!" and when he or the eunuchs, or any of the chiefs, entert he royal presence, they kneel down and throw sand over their heads. Many

of the eunuchs besmear their foreheads with mire, which they allow to remain on as long as the audience continues.

After passing through several of the queen's apartments, squares, and courts, we were conducted round the outer wall, which is about twenty feet high, though in some parts it is only about eight, and built of clay. We were led along a small passage, in which the figure of a woman, modelled in clay and dried in the sun, was shown us. Thence we passed into a good-sized yard, and through more intricate passages into the king's presence.

His tobes were more splendid than those of any king I have yet seen in the interior. He wore some fine cloth, and a beautiful white satin tobe. On his head he had a cap resembling a helmet in shape, formed of small beads, and most ingeniously wrought. Round his neck he had nearly a hundred strings of blue Nufie beads, worn only by the members of the royal family and some of the principal men. His face, from the application of henna, shone like a piece of mahogany; his nails were stained with the same preparation; and his eyelids were coloured black with antimony.

We experienced the same difficulty in trading as we did before, from the king's wishing to have the goods without paying for them. He was requested to show the large teeth before mentioned. Some of the people went away, but returned in the course of a few minutes, and said that the man had closed the house where the ivory was deposited. The king then informed us that he would trade with Mr. Brown, the clerk whom we should leave.

It was by such measures as the above that the king endeavoured to obtain possession of our goods, doubtless without any intention of paying if he could only induce Mr. Lander to leave them. On inquiring again for the large teeth, we were told that they had belonged to the king's father when alive, which was the sole reason why he was unwilling to part with them.

Some idea may be formed of the character of this prince,* when it is stated, that while he professes such respect for the memory of his father, he caused the corpse to be disinterred, a few months after the late king's death, (when he

* The King of Idda (Attah) and Abboka of Damuggoo are half-brothers, and natives of Fundah.

found himself securely seated on the throne,) and the head to be severed from the body and exposed to public gaze. This he did because of the preference given to his elder brother, Abboka, who nevertheless did not come to the throne.

Like all the kings and chiefs of Africa, Attah is very anxious to impress us with an idea of his vast importance, and of the extent of his dominions; and for this purpose, he lays claim to several towns that are entirely independent of him. He told us that Fundah belonged to him, together with some towns on the banks of the Niger: whereas the inhabitants had never heard of him.

Mr. Lander complained of the conduct of the King of Fundah, who had obtained goods from Mr. Laird without paying for them. Attah said that he did not approve of such conduct, and that he particularly hated thieves. When we asked his advice respecting the measures we should take to enforce payment, he recommended us to seize all the Fundah canoes, and the people, and sell them until the whole amount was paid. Such is the method adopted in the interior; so that the poor trader must suffer for the injustice

of his sovereign, by losing his slaves, goods, and canoes,—a circumstance by no means of rare occurrence. The king stated that his subjects were at liberty to trade if they thought proper.

I was very much amused at the interest and curiosity manifested by Attah and his principal wife, as well as the natives, when the former were presented with two wooden dolls, dressed in imitation of the King and Queen of England, and sent out by a lady in London. They were habited in robes of crimson satin, trimmed with white fur to represent ermine. Their sable majesties were quite delighted with them, and frequently worked the arms and legs about.

The king then desired that we should bring some of the same kind of satin, and some ermine, for that he desired above all things to be dressed in robes similar to those worn by the Sullikeen Baturoe (King of the White Men). He also requested that two silver ear-plates might be sent to him.

He ordered that we should be presented with two horses, one of which, he said, was for his brother the King of England. Expecting to see a fine Arabian steed, we were no less sur-

prised than disappointed to find the horse intended for his Britannic Majesty, lame and high in bone, but low in flesh: indeed, such a Rosinante I never saw before! We sent word to Attah, that the horse was sick, and that we could not accept of it. Shortly afterwards, a dark bay one came down, certainly a little better than the one rejected. The horses in this part of the country are not very large; but they are strong, and capable of enduring great fatigue. Abboka also presented us with a young horse.

Attah, in order to impress upon Mr. Lander the great esteem he had for him, said that he loved him the same as he loved his wife who shared his bed; a very common expression in this country, and at which we were frequently amused.

On our departure, the king granted us permission to kill a bullock. These animals run wild near the town, but every night resort to the king's premises, where they are shot.

As we returned, we passed Abboka's houses, and saw several of his wives congregated together to see us. Many of them were very interesting-looking blacks. Although Abboka is almost seventy years of age, and has daughters married,

he is increasing his seraglio very fast, by adding women considerably younger than they are.

The Kroomen were sent ashore to kill a bullock, and were ordered to fire forty rounds of cartridge, as a mark of respect, before Abboka's house; an act which quite delighted the old man.

The next day, one of Abboka's sons was sent to superintend the clearing of some ground on English Island, where he was to erect a good house for me against my return. These young men, the sons of Abboka, who are great traders, and the most respectable-looking men I have seen in Africa, brought us a large quantity of elephant's teeth for sale. A good-sized tooth was also brought on board by one of the king's eunuchs; but the price demanded was so enormous that we declined purchasing it.

By this time all on board appeared anxious to reach the salt water—particularly the Kroomen, who seemed heartily tired, and afraid of remaining any longer in the country. Arrangements were made for Mr. Brown's stay at English Island, for the purpose of trading during the absence of the vessel at Fernando Po. Yarriba George, a native of Kacundah, and Jowdie, were ordered

to stay with him; but great persuasions were necessary to induce them to comply—particularly Jowdie, who was very unwilling to remain. Indeed, such was the aversion of our Kroomen to the country, arising from a fear of the natives, that scarcely one on board would again return up the river.

The Quorra's long-boat, a fine coppered boat, was left for Mr. Brown's use; and a bullock that had been shot was brought on board, adding something to our stock.

CHAPTER XII.

Depart from Iddah.—The River Ado.—River Scenery of the Quorra.—Anchor off Kirree.—Distrust of the Natives.—Arrive at Eboe.—Avarice and Artifice of Obie.—News of the other Vessels of the Expedition.—Adizetta.—Tricks upon the Natives.—Appearance of King Boy.—Cross the Bar of the Nun.—Difficulties of the Voyage to Fernando Po.—Relieved by the Quorra Steam-vessel.—Arrival at the Island.

At seven in the morning of the 25th, we got under weigh from Iddah. Two of Abboka's sons came on board to bid us adieu; and even Aggary, the little squinting, dancing trader, came and kept up a continued cry of "Pestal, pestal!" to no purpose;—alluding to the pistol which Mr. Lander promised when he was attacked at Kirree. The morning was dull and with a little rain.

The town of Iddah, incorrectly called Attah by Mr. Lander, (Attah being the king's name, and Iddah that of the town,) is a place well

adapted for trade; though ivory is more expensive there than higher up the river, in consequence of its having to pass through the hands of more traders. During the rainy, or winter season, it is very unhealthy: it is situated near the line dividing the healthy from the unhealthy country, and is too near the sea-side to have the clear, bright atmosphere of Rabbah or Egga. The river as we passed down presented a most imposing appearance, being two and a half or three miles wide, with banks of four, five, seven, and eight feet high. The course of the river below Iddah was south-south-west.

At 11. 30 A. M. we passed the branch of a river on the right, running north-north-east, with a fine opening, and winding a little to the eastward: it is called by the natives Ado: Al Hadge, our interpreter, stated that it runs through a country where the natives mark their faces with stripes radiating from the mouth, like the Yarriba people. Lilly's account is, that it runs behind the Eboe country, and that the natives mark their arms and legs with longitudinal lines. A market is held at the opening of the river, when the water is low. Rum is brought to the Ado people from a place ten days' journey. It is my opinion that the

river falls into the Bight of Benin, and that the rum is obtained from the Spanish and Portuguese slavers at Popo, or probably from Wydah.

At noon the course of the stream was nearly south. On passing Damuggoo its course was south, and by west half-west. From the marks of the trees, &c. the water appeared to have fallen seven feet. We soon after passed the mouth of a river running south-east. Soundings, from two to ten fathoms: course, south-west.

At 4 P. M. we were in a fine reach running south. Passed a fine high bank on the right, about thirty feet high, on which was a beautiful little town almost buried in the surrounding trees. The banks here were thickly wooded, and the scenery highly picturesque. We soon after passed Kirree, and a fine branch of a river supposed to run from Benin, the first reach of it lying about south-west half-west. At 4. 30 P. M. we passed another branch, running to the north-east, which is said to lead to Fundah.

In about a quarter of an hour after, we anchored off Kirree, in seven fathoms water, while a market for the sale of palm-wine was being held on the bank. The natives retreated into the bush as soon as they saw us preparing to anchor;

but our interpreter hailed them, telling them to go and cut wood for us; and a boat was despatched to the king. He was presented with a looking-glass, and in return promised, although evidently much terrified, that his people should cut wood to-morrow for the white men's canoe.

The current ran at the rate of three knots per hour over the rocks in this part. The surrounding scenery is extremely beautiful, being the first high land to be met with on coming up the Niger from the sea-side: it was therefore the last we expected to see. The corn-fields were numerous, and yams and rice appeared to be grown by the natives in abundance. The ground was covered with the richest verdure; the luxuriant foliage of the trees, among which were seen the tamarind and locust, was diversified by gentle eminences, whose verdant banks added still more to the beauty of the scene, and it seemed as if Nature had intended to form a striking contrast betwixt this and the low flat country which lay between this part and the sea-side.

Kirree, the town off which we have anchored, is within a few hundred yards from the spot where the Messrs. Landers were attacked, plundered, and taken prisoners to Eboe. There are several scaffolds erected on the banks, thatched

over with bamboo, and used by the natives as places of concealment when fishing.

We found the King of Kirree at war with Obie, King of Eboe; the rupture having been occasioned by a son of Obie's being killed by the inhabitants of the former town. To revenge his death, Obie sent a powerful fleet of canoes to attack Kirree. The assailants took two hundred prisoners, whose heads were cut off, and exposed in the market-place at Eboe.

We had much rain during the night, with a strong breeze, and, owing to the strength of the current, found ourselves nearly three miles below our first anchorage.

On the following morning at daylight, we sent Kroomen ashore for the wood promised by the king; but in a short time they returned and informed us that his majesty and his people, men, women, and children, had abandoned the town and fled into the bush! We concluded that the king entertained some suspicions of us, and thought we had come for the purpose of ensnaring the inhabitants, and making them prisoners to take to his enemy King Obie.

The latitude of this place is 6° 6′ 5″ south, according to an observation made by Mr. Allen.

An instance of stupidity and credulity occur-

red this morning in the case of one of the Kroomen. *Dracunculus*, or Guinea-worm, is a very prevalent disease in Western Africa; and every trifling degree of inflammation of the skin, such as a boil, is considered by them as the Guinea-worm. An instance occurred in the person of the Krooman named Straw Hat. He had had a boil on the upper part of the foot, and supposing it to be the Guinea-worm, he applied some escharotic herbs to it, which inflamed it and produced excessive sloughing of the tendons. On the ligaments of the toe becoming exposed, the man passed a piece of strong black thread round two of them (supposing the other to be a worm coiled up) near the instep, and then secured a piece of lead on the outside, for the purpose, as he said, of dragging away the worm. This morning I insisted on seeing it, and found that several inches of tendon had actually come away. In order to convince him of his error, I procured a fowl's foot, and by pulling the back tendon, brought the other into action: I then dissected the front part of the foot, and exposed all the ligaments.

After this explanation, Straw Hat seemed much pleased, and said, "White doctor savy

too much!" I might have talked a twelvemonth to him to no purpose; and if I had not had recourse to ocular demonstration, I should never have succeeded in convincing him of his error. He is a fine young negro, and speaks English very well, having been on board several palm-oil ships. A few months previously, he had cut his wrist severely with a hatchet, and came to me to have it dressed; I was threading a needle for the purpose of putting a suture through the lips of the wound, when he suddenly exclaimed, "Massa dottor, massa dottor, what you want for do? you go for put needle through my flesh, all same piece of cloth—no! no! no! no!" and pulling a long face, he walked off to the fore part of the ship, still saying, "No, no, massa dottor; me no savy dat palaver: put needle through my flesh all same piece of cloth! no, no!"—All the entreaties Mr. Lander and myself could have recourse to were not sufficient to induce him to submit to an operation which he thought unnecessary and cruel.

Finding we could not obtain a supply of wood at this town, we got under weigh, and dropped our anchor abreast of some dry trees, where the Kroomen were sent ashore for it. Several canoe-loads were brought alongside

by some fishermen; and tobacco, knives, and beads were given them in exchange. The current here was very strong. A large canoe filled with wood, containing nine natives and a goat, was upset alongside the vessel, owing to the rapidity of the current. Some of the natives swam ashore; but one caught hold of the paddle-box, threw his legs round the neck of the goat, and saved it from being carried down the stream.

Having received a supply of wood sufficient to last us several hours, we got under weigh at 6 P. M. and proceeded on our course by moonlight, until past 8, when it became thick and foggy, and we anchored in two fathoms water. Between 6 and 7 we passed the branch of a river leading to Benin.

At 6 the following morning, we left our anchorage. The depth of the water varied from two and a half to ten fathoms. At no period could the Niger be seen to greater advantage than at this time: it is only when the river is full that its actual breadth can be ascertained; in this part it is from two to two and a half miles wide. We observed a few natives on the banks, and passed a town on the left, abreast of the place where an attack was made upon Mr.

Lander and myself when on our way up in a boat and canoe. A little below the town is a branch leading to Bonny, running south-east. When the river is full, the Bonny people pass up this branch when they come to trade for palm-oil and ivory; but it is dry during several months of the year: indeed, canoes can only pass this bar during two months of the twelve,—and it was dry when Mr. Lander and I passed,—at such times the bar literally forms the bank of the Quorra.

The morning being hazy, very little of the surrounding country was discernible. What we saw was flat and swampy, the banks of the river being very low. Since getting under weigh, our course had been south-south-west and south-west for five miles; south-west, three miles; south by west, five miles; south, a mile and a half; west, two miles.

At 9. 30, we came to an anchor off Eboe. The distance we had accomplished to-day was thirty-three miles:—from Iddah to Kirree, the distance is fifty miles—five miles we drifted; from Iddah to Eboe it is about one hundred, and from Eboe to the river Nun, about two hundred miles. The wind was high from the southward.

We sent an interpreter to King Obie, with a present of an umbrella; and a boy, to inquire if the Quorra was in the Nun. Two of Obie's sons came on board, and were presented with two long tin horns. No sooner did the young urchins receive them, than they forthwith commenced applying them to their intended purpose, namely, making a disagreeable noise, in which they appeared to take great delight, and enjoyed making them "speak," as they called it.

Our intention was to get under weigh as early as possible in the morning, for we fancied we could already smell salt water.

Obie despatched several messages, imploring us to remain the next day; but we were determined that his entreaties should have no attention. About an hour after midnight he came on board, dressed in a handsome cap of a field-officer's uniform (given him by Mr. L.), an officer's coat, and scarlet trousers made very full. We knew him to be as avaricious a man as any in Africa; and the first request he made was for two presents of every kind that we had, such as umbrellas, rings, pieces of cloth, and sundry other articles; and before he went on shore, he asked for a richer coat than the one he then

wore, although it was completely covered with gold lace! He sent us a bullock, which was sick, and therefore we took the liberty of returning it. About half-past two in the morning another was sent, together with one hundred and ninety yams and two goats, which were brought in three canoes. The moon being at full, we were able to receive the things on board and keep a strict watch over the Eboes.

King Obie, after having received all the presents he thought he could obtain, had recourse to stratagem to procure more. He stated, that when Mr. Laird went down the river, a few months before, he had sent him three bullocks and a large supply of yams, for which he never received any payment, and was presented with no equivalent in return, but was told that Mr. Lander would settle the amount when he came down the river.*

We learnt here that the Columbine, the Quorra, and the Dove schooner had left the river Nun for England three months before.

There are generally several large trading-canoes at Eboe from Brass Town. During the

* I have since heard that the statement of Obie was false, as Mr. Laird had made him a very handsome present.

night, a native of Brass came alongside, and rather astonished us by accosting us with "How do you do?" It inspired us with a singular feeling of pleasure and satisfaction, as it denoted our proximity to the sea-side; since leaving which we had not heard a word of English, except such as was spoken by our own people. The man was received on board with a hearty welcome. Most of the Brass people can speak a few words of English; and if a black man can say, "I no savy" (understand), he thinks that he is an adept in English.

About 3 o'clock, Adizetta, one of King Boy's wives, and a fellow-passenger of the Messrs. Lander, came on board, accompanied by one of her husband's younger wives. Adizetta is rather pretty-looking, and very stout; but with a fine expressive countenance, and is considered a beauty by the natives. She wore immense large anklets of ivory, from the ankle to the middle of the leg, of the width of nine inches; and when she walked, they gave her the appearance of having two half-hundred weights attached to each ankle. They are considered by the natives as great ornaments, and marks of distinction.

A marked difference is evinced by the natives in wearing these ornaments of the wrists and ankles. From the sea-side to Eboe, the natives wear small chains of iron rings; between Eboe and Iddah they wear ivory, with a few beads as decorations; from Iddah to the Tchadda, Cuttum-Curaffee, Ibbodah, and the Kacundah country, blue beads of English and native manufacture (the latter resembling the shaft of a pipe); brass rings, or iron ones plated, are in general use. From Ibbodah to the Felatah country, including Nufie, the natives are seen with beads of the country, cowries in a string for bracelets (some of which they have of French manufacture), and striped blue and yellow earthenware, which are brought over the Desert from Tripoli by the Arabs. Such were those of Abusettoo, principal wife of the King of the Felatahs' prime minister.

Adizetta is a favourite of King Obie's, and says she should like to accompany us to look at the white men's ships; but at present she is too much engaged in trading for palm-oil, against the time her royal master returns.

This morning we were very highly amused by a scene which we witnessed. Wishing to intimidate

some of the natives, and check their thieving propensities, a number of our men were told to dress themselves up in a peculiar manner, and take masks of different sorts and patterns. They made their appearance in their strange habiliments, the masks making them appear doubly hideous by lamp-light. As soon as Adizetta saw these horrid figures, she nearly fainted; the pullaboys leaped overboard; the traders ran to their canoes, or concealed themselves in different parts of the vessel. They were told that these were Ju-ju's men; and that if the natives wished to injure us, our Ju-jus would most certainly kill them. They were also told, that when not required, our Ju-jus went up to the moon; but that when we wanted them, we despatched a messenger (sky-rocket) to them, and they would instantly be at hand. This mode of imposing on the credulity of these simple people could only be justified as a means of security to ourselves, as thus impressing them with an exaggerated notion of our power rendered an attack on us less likely.

At 5 the following morning, having rid ourselves of Adizetta and the king's chief warrior, we got under weigh. Passed the largest branch

that runs to Benin, the first reach running nearly west. The river is broad and magnificent, with cultivated banks of palm-trees; bananas and plantains were also plentiful. As we descended the river, the settlements became less numerous. At 1. 30, we passed another branch of the river, running to Benin in a south-south-west direction.

At 5. 20 P. M. we anchored abreast of a town named Esdau. About midnight, our old friend King Boy came alongside, in an immense canoe, with eighteen pullaboys on each side. His coxswain was Tom Thumb, a very fine lad of colour. No sooner was the old rascal, King Boy, on board, than he made use of the same stratagem to obtain goods as Obie had tried unsuccessfully before him. "Big fire-ship go down—cappy (captain) take seven hundred yams, no pay for them —say Cappy Lander dash me," were nearly the first words of Boy: but his scheme failed—and he took it better than might have been expected.

A slave of King Boy's, a servant of mine, named Lilly (from being the most jet-black fellow I had seen), informed King Boy of the white men's Ju-jus at Eboe. This naturally excited Boy's curiosity, and he importuned us repeatedly

to send for them, till at length two or three of our men were told to dress up to satisfy him. One of them put on a hideous-looking mask, with a very large nose, and the upper lip slit in two, giving it a most horrid appearance. King Boy was dreadfully terrified when they appeared motionless as a statue. When they disappeared, he inquired if every white man had such Ju-jus, and if they would do him any injury.

Tuesday, October 29th.—A mulatto, named Abraham, a native of Cape Coast Castle, died this morning of dysentery, and was interred ashore. After procuring wood, we got under weigh at 12. 15 P. M. Passed another very fine branch of the Benin river, about five hundred yards wide. The Niger became visibly narrower. We soon after passed the branches of two rivers leading into a creek, and St. John's river, communicating with Brass.

At 7. 30 P. M. we anchored off Barracoon House, all hands giving three hearty cheers at the sight of the salt water. Having a little rum on board, we drank to our absent friends with as much sincerity as can possibly be imagined under such circumstances.

The following day was wet and cold. King

Boy came on board, and his people were supplied with hatchets, to assist our men in cutting wood.

Thursday, October 31st.—After taking in a supply of wood, at 7. 30 A. M. we got under weigh. All our difficulties were not yet surmounted, as we had still to cross a very dangerous bar. When last I passed it in this small vessel, we were nearly lost; for, being short of fuel, we were obliged to burn all the spars, and were in great danger of being driven on the western breakers. In crossing the bar this time, we had four, three and a half, and five fathoms water; and, I believe, there is never less than three fathoms. Several vessels, as the Neptune, Mary, and others, have been lost in attempting to pass it. Thermometer 84°.

At 8 P. M. we anchored within six miles of the shore, and off the Bonny river. In taking in the foresail, the Kroomen, by some blunder or other, allowed it to become entangled with the paddle-wheel, by which it was torn to shreds. At the time we anchored there was a very heavy swell, and the hands were directed to keep a sharp look-out, lest the anchor, which was our only one, should go.

We had been very quiet for the space of half an hour, when we heard something give way, and at the same time some one called out "Anchor's gone." What were we to do? was our first consideration: we had no other anchor, and our windlass was also carried away; there was likewise a heavy swell from the south. We ordered the steam to be got up instantly, but had only one hour's fuel on board. This was effected; but, during the process, we had drifted into three fathoms water, among the rollers. The little iron vessel laboured strenuously against the powerful swell. Lieutenant Allen, who had now the temporary command of the vessel, to take her to Fernando Po, determined on standing out to sea, to get a good offing. Six signal-guns of distress were fired, but were not heard by the pilots at Bonny, or by any English vessel.

At daylight the next morning, all were anxious to see a sail or descry land, but neither was visible; and, to add to our forlorn situation, we had only ten gallons of water for twenty-three persons, besides three horses and two goats. If we had been many days out, the probability is that we should have been obliged to eat horse-

flesh. Eight ounces of water were served out to each man for twenty-four hours; a very short allowance for persons living under a vertical sun. Fortunately it was a dull wet morning, and we were enabled to catch a little rain from a dirty awning placed over the quarter-deck; this we did by holding our mouths to the holes as it trickled through.

Our fuel was now exhausted, and we had no sails. Some thoughts were entertained of taking down the masts and using them for the fires; and Lieutenant Allen got some jury-masts rigged, and some awnings ready to be converted into sails, which, when set, enabled us to go at the rate of two or three knots an hour. At noon we found ourselves eighty miles from Fernando Po, with many of our hands sick from scanty allowance and change of weather.

On the morning of Saturday, November 2nd, all hands were on the look-out for a sail; but we were doomed to disappointment, and our situation became anything but desirable,—particularly as the compasses were useless, from the attraction of the vessel. In the afternoon, when about fifty miles from Fernando Po, we perceived a smoke, which we concluded was that of a

steamer. Fortunately for us, our conjectures were true; for, on its nearer approach, a vessel hove in sight, which we imagined was His Majesty's steamer Pluto, but we found that it was the Quorra herself. A boat was lowered, and Colonel Nicolls, governor of Fernando Po, came on board. The Alburkah was immediately taken in tow; and Colonel Nicolls stated that the Columbine had been at Fernando Po upwards of three months, but that she had sailed for England about a month ago, with Mr. M'Gregor Laird, and three survivors from the Quorra. Harvey, one of the Quorra's men, had been left in charge; and a young man named Sarsfield, from the Alburkah, had remained to take care of the engine. At 8. 30, we joyfully received an anchor, which we dropped in Clarence Bay, Fernando Po.

CHAPTER XIII.

Arrangements concluded for revisiting the Niger.—Depart from Fernando Po.—Difficulties of the Voyage to the Coast.—Enter the Adony River.— Visit Bonny.—Meet the Quorra.—Mr. Lander leaves for Cape Coast.—The Alburkah proceeds up the Nun.—Difficulties of River Navigation.—Illness of some of the Crew.—Inglammah.—Anchor off Eboe.—Atchimary — Deception of the Chief of this Town.—Want of Oil for the Engine.— Prepare for leaving the Vessel.

No sooner had we reached Fernando Po, than I became too unwell to attend to anything that was going forward respecting the destination of the vessel. Lieutenant Allen, having completed his survey of the river, determined on returning to England by the first opportunity; and it was now arranged that I should go again up the river with the vessel, while Mr. Lander, after visiting Cape Coast and Accrah for cowries, was to follow me, and expected to rejoin me up the river in about six weeks.

The Alburkah's papers, register, &c. were signed and given over to me, together with written instructions from Mr. Lander, by the governor, Colonel Nicolls. Our preparations kept us fully employed until our departure. We received stores on board, left by Captain Becroft, and a chief officer and men to navigate the vessel.

Our crew then consisted of twelve persons, including the mate and two white men; and, with Mr. Lander on board, who proposed to accompany us as far as the river Nun, we got under weigh on the morning of the 10th of November. Notwithstanding the day was Sunday, some of our new hands had been taking too much grog; so that steam was suffered to escape, and we were obliged to come to an anchor again.

The following morning, at 7 A. M. steam was got up; but, owing to some mismanagement, the engine would not work. The late engineer, Smith, who had worked the engine since the death of his predecessor in that office, was sick in the hospital, and a man named Jeffry had undertaken the task. We were obliged, however, to send for Smith, who kindly came and initiated Jeffry in the mystery of managing it.

At 10. 30 A. M. the Alburkah was, for the third

time, under weigh for the Niger. The yards of His Majesty's brig Curlew, Captain Trotter, were manned, and we were saluted with three hearty cheers from her, which we as heartily returned, as we left the bay.

Nothing of importance occurred the next day; but on Thursday, the 14th, we found that a strong current prevented our making rapid progress. However, on Friday, November 15th, at 3 P. M. we made the entrance to Bonny; and when in three and a half fathoms water, the grating of the fire-flue was melted, from the increased heat produced by using coals instead of wood: since leaving England we had used nothing but wood, except during the last two days. The anchor was let go at 2 P. M. and the cable instantly parted. It seemed as if we were doomed to misfortune on our very outset. The best bower anchor was immediately let go; but the vessel being light and very lively on the water, by some fatality we soon parted with that likewise.

Our situation had now become dangerous; for the vessel was quickly drifted into shallow water on the bar, and we soon after touched the ground lightly. Our feelings at this moment were none

of the pleasantest. The mate was for running the vessel ashore, as the only possible chance of saving ourselves; and something decisive was assuredly required to be done. But, believing that to run the vessel ashore would be certain death, I ran to the cabin, and seizing pistols, threatened to shoot the first man who disobeyed orders. We were now among the breakers; both our anchors were gone, and to prevent her from going further was our only chance. We had two field-pieces on the quarter-deck, and these I ordered to be taken forward, and the cable to be bent to them, determined to try if they would hold the vessel. No time was lost in securing the cable to them, and they were thrown overboard. Happily for us, they held the vessel through the night; but the interval which was passed until daylight was one of awful suspense. The cabin-boys were in tears, the Kroomen quite stupified and the mate useless and bewildered. The latter, no doubt, gave what he considered the best advice in such an emergency; but it had a very dangerous tendency. Some few of the Kroomen might indeed have escaped, being excellent swimmers; but it would have been utterly impossible for the white men to

save themselves, through a heavy surf, and amid the gloomy darkness of the night.

When steam was up, we slipped one of the field-pieces, and taking the other on board, stood out to sea. We soon got a good offing, and determined on making the best of our way back to Fernando Po

Saturday, November 16th.—At 10 A.M. we spoke the Esperanza schooner, a tender to his Majesty's brig Curlew. We had a letter from the Admiralty, to the Admiral on the station, or to any of the commanders of His Majesty's vessels on the western coast of Africa; and showing it to Lieutenant Matson, with one from Commander Trotter, he kindly supplied us with an anchor, some wood and water, and we continued on our voyage. Shortly after, the Curlew, Commander Trotter, from Fernando Po, hove in sight. After stating our losses, it was deemed preferable to go into Bonny and procure wood, as Commander Trotter kindly agreed to furnish us with an anchor and cable for the vessel, rather than we should put back to Fernando Po. Commander Trotter, to whom I am indebted for numerous acts of kindness, also offered to send his master on board to take us across the Adony river into Bonny. Mr. Lander

immediately accepted this offer; and in crossing the Adony bar we had only nine feet water.

On Sunday, 17th of November, we entered Bonny, to the surprise of the king and natives, who inquired if we had come down the "big river,"—meaning the Niger.

At this time there were three Spanish slavers in the river, one of which had taken the slaves on board the preceding night; but hearing that the Brisk and Curlew were off the river, they sent them on shore again.

Some days were passed in obtaining wood and water for the vessel, in the course of which I went on board the Kingston, where I met with an old schoolfellow in the chief officer of that ship, who informed me that the Company had sent out a cutter with men and provisions.

One afternoon I took an opportunity to visit King Pepple at the town, which is a very dirty place and built inside a morass. I found it thickly inhabited, and the natives busy with palm-oil. One of them asked me with much gravity if my beard was Ju-ju, which produced some amusement: but I learned that the guava is the Ju-ju or fetish-tree of these people. I saw two or three in the streets, and no person is

allowed to touch them under pain of death. The Royal George, a very fine vessel, had just arrived from England, but had brought no despatches. At 3. 30, we got under weigh, saluted the shipping, and were answered by the Royal George. Owing to the wood being wet, the steam was kept up very imperfectly.

On the next morning, 24th November, we fell in with the Quorra, which had been sent after us by Colonel Nicolls, with the men, and some provisions and despatches, which the Crown cutter had brought from England.

The next day, Captain Fuge, who had charge of the Quorra, entered the St. John's river, instead of the Nun: we accompanied him, and in passing the bar did not meet with less than two fathoms of water. The cutter had been to the Nun, and King Boy had obtained very considerable presents. Not finding us there, Captain Fuge had proceeded to Fernando Po, whence he had been despatched here after us by Colonel Nicolls.

On the 27th November, we weighed anchor from St. John's river, and passed through a creek, called Brass Creek, into the river Nun, at 5. 30 P. M.; and a little after 8 in the morning we got aground, where we lay all night. By 4 the next

morning we again got under weigh, and at 7. 30 anchored in the Nun.

I had engaged a carpenter from the cutter, and the Company had sent out an engineer, Hugh Dunleary, a seaman named Samuel Harvey, and a young man of the name of Moore as assistant. The three former went on board the Alburkah; the latter accompanied Mr. Lander in the boat to the Quorra, lying in St. John's river.

At 11 A. M. Mr. Lander left me, under a salute of seven guns, and three hearty cheers from the crew. Shortly after his departure, the steam being up, I got under weigh for the Niger, and at 2. 15 P. M. entered Louis' Creek, mentioned in another part of this Journal. At 4 in the afternoon we ran aground, owing to the failure of the steam, and in about an hour afterwards we got off, and at 7. 30 again ran aground. This is the most difficult part in the whole river to navigate.

The next morning, after several ineffectual attempts to get off, we at length succeeded in getting the vessel into deeper water; but owing to the condenser being too hot, we were obliged to remain another day at anchor in this dismal

place. From Louis' Creek up to the first Benin branch, a distance of seventy miles, the country is low and swampy, and the average breadth of the stream from thirty to forty yards. During the two nights, neither officers nor men were able to enjoy a moment's repose, but kept constantly pacing the decks. Several of us spent the night in smoking, endeavouring by this means to keep away the musquitoes, of which there were myriads around us: my arms, face, and neck were so severely marked with their stings, that I appeared to be suffering from the small-pox in the seventh or eighth day of its continuance. For a week I was obliged to keep cold lotions applied to the parts affected, and for two days I was quite blind.

At 6 on the morning of the 30th, we got under weigh. A great number of plantains and banana trees were visible. We obtained a canoe-load of wood, and anchored at 6 P.M. Here again we passed another sleepless night, from the tormenting musquitoes. During the last three days we had had some heavy rains. Some of the men were now sick; consisting of the mate; Francisco, a Spaniard; Johnson, a black fireman; Al Hadge, an attendant; and the steward. We

sent the Kroomen on shore to cut wood; and at 4. 30 P. M. got under weigh, and at 7 P. M. again came to an anchor. For the last two days, since leaving Louis' Creek, the soundings varied from one and a half to six fathoms.

On the next morning we were under weigh at 4 A. M.; and at seven, our stock of fuel being exhausted, we anchored abreast of a small town. Here we received a canoe-load of wood, a goat, and some plantains. The river appeared to have fallen about fifteen feet. Having continued up the river, at 6 P. M. we anchored off a town belonging to King Jacket's brother. A large canoe from Brass came alongside, and the people in her appeared unwilling to leave us: I ordered them away, telling them to come on board again at daylight. Mr. Huntington, chief mate, and six of the men, unfit for duty from illness.

On the morning, 3rd December, we despatched the Kroomen ashore to cut wood. In the course of the morning, King Jacket's brother came on board: he presented me with two canoe-loads of wood and a goat. He was dressed in an old jacket, with a piece of silk tied round his loins; and on leaving us, attached a piece of

white cotton to the pole that was fixed on a sandbank, as a token of friendship.

Wednesday, 4th December. — At 5. 30 A. M. we got under weigh, and at 7 A. M. passed a creek, on the left or east side of the river, leading to Bonny. A few hundred yards above this Bonny Creek, are the towns of Subercriggee and Hyammah (where Mr. Lander was afterwards unfortunately killed). At 9 A. M. we passed a branch running to Benin. In some places the river appeared to have fallen sixteen or eighteen feet. In the course of the day we passed great numbers of Brass canoes, filled with pots containing palm-oil, each pot holding about two gallons: some of the large canoes carried puncheons sent by the Bonny traders to Brass to be filled. The day had been very fine, but rather hot: a little rain fell in the evening.

At 5. 25 P. M. we anchored abreast Inglammah. The chief came on board, with the present of a goat, two bunches of plantains, and some yams. I expressed a wish that he would send some of his people to cut wood, which he promised to do. The Kroomen were despatched ashore to procure fuel, and by twelve o'clock had obtained a sufficient supply. At 1. 30, steam being up, we

got under weigh, having presented the king with a scarlet hunting-coat for his kindness and attention. At 6. 30 P. M. we anchored in four fathoms water. The mate and rest of the invalids were better.

At five the next morning, December 5th, got under weigh. The weather was thick and foggy. By the marks on the banks, the river had fallen seventeen feet. At 5 A. M. we descried the town of Eboe, and at 6. 45 anchored off that place.

The next morning the weather was thick and foggy, and about daylight the King of Eboe came on board. He wore a cap of crimson velvet, ornamented in a most peculiar manner with the brass plates that are put over the key-holes of doors! He wore also Turkish trousers, and had sixteen rows of coral round each ankle. He was accompanied by the woman before mentioned, who certainly must be the stoutest and heaviest woman in all the world, and was, besides, a complete Hottentot Venus. Obie had five canoes with him. I had all the men armed, and a sentry posted at the gangway, as there were too many anxious to get on board. I made Obie a few presents; and after fruitless efforts to in-

duce me to stay a day, he sent me a small bullock and eighty yams.

At 2. 45 P.M. we got under weigh. The weather was so thick and hazy, that we could not see the distance of a ship's length before us. In the evening we ran into shoal water: the people carried out the anchors, and endeavoured to get the vessel off without effect, and we were obliged to remain aground for the night.

The next morning at daylight, all hands were engaged in endeavouring to get the vessel afloat. The river in this part begins to widen considerably: it is, however, very shallow, and we ought to have been up three months ago. The weather continued very foggy, and the air, from the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter left on the banks by the fall of the river, was extremely pernicious and unhealthy.

A very large canoe from Iddah, with fifty hands, now came alongside. All the people had a knife, which they wore in a case attached to the left side. I made a present to the headman, and requested him to allow his men to go overboard to the vessel's side, and heave her into deeper water. The seasonable aid of these men, together with the united exertions of the

crew, soon accomplished this desired object, and we remained all night at anchor in deep water. The strangers, however, were very troublesome, crowding on the decks and pilfering everything they could lay their hands upon. I ordered the decks to be cleared, but to no purpose, as they appeared determined to remain. The mate, however, who was somewhat recovered, after asking my permission, took his sword, and by a smart application or two of the flat part of it to their naked backs, he succeeded in effecting a clearance.

Steam was now got up, as we intended to go on; but owing to the cylinder filling with hot water, the steam failed, and we again grounded. About seventy hands were engaged in getting the vessel off, and at 2 P. M. we got into one and a half fathoms water. Steam was again up, when the cylinder again filled with water. The atmosphere was extremely thick for the last few days; the sun had been quite pale from its effect.

This part of the river, which was supposed by the Landers to be a large lake, is extremely difficult to navigate. We were now a little above the second Bonny branch, and amongst the same people who nearly caused the death of the Messrs. Landers at Kirree.

At noon of the 9th of December we got under weigh, and in two hours after found we were in shoal water, and could not get out of it till the evening. In consequence of the shallowness of the river and haziness of the weather, I had recourse to the plan of sending a boat ahead with a white flag, in order to sound and apprise us of shoal water: we could scarcely distinguish an object at the distance of the vessel's length before her. Since leaving Eboe, the water has been very shallow.

The next day, the Kroomen were employed in cutting wood; and in the morning of December 11th, we got under weigh, and at 4 P. M. anchored off a town named Atchimary, the former chief of which place had died about five months ago. The present chief, a stout man, named Assobah, lived at the next town; and having determined on paying him a visit, I landed, taking with me a large looking-glass and a fancy-coloured waistcoat.

On arriving at his house, I was conducted through two apartments into a third, where a mat was placed for me to sit upon. On a small platform, to the right, were the skulls of several animals; among others, I noticed those of a

monkey, a dog, and an alligator, with several loose bones; and I found that they constituted the fetish of the natives. Some palm-wine was brought, which was very refreshing.

We were much in want of oil for the engine, and I was apprehensive that we could not proceed without a supply. I applied to Assobah to give me the largest bullock he had, in order that I might use the feet for the engine, and agreed to pay him in powder, guns, &c.

On my return on board, the carpenter and two black firemen were ill of the fever.

The want of oil for the engine now became serious, and I was apprehensive of being detained, unless we could get some by sending to Damuggoo or Iddah for Shea butter as a substitute. Even that would take eight or ten days, and the journey was likely to be exceedingly dangerous.

The chief of the village off which we had anchored behaved extremely ill to us. After a great deal of bickering and "palavering," as if we were negotiating for a town, he sent us the smallest bullock he could find; and, what was much more objectionable, the animal did not appear to have an ounce of fat upon its carcase. I therefore returned it, with a message to the chief

that he must send me a larger and fatter one; and he at length promised that I should have one.

On Friday, December 13th, I landed. In passing through the towns, which were neatly built and very clean, I saw several cows and bullocks marked with black and white spots, about the size of our Alderney breed of cattle. I was conducted through the bush a distance of four miles, with hundreds of natives following at our heels. The day was excessively hot, and after a most unpleasant walk we arrived at a large house, to which a yard was attached, enclosed by a wall about three feet high, and entirely surrounded by plantains and bananas. My attention was attracted by a number of birds' nests in some lofty cotton trees, the feathery tenants being remarkable for the richness of their plumage, and the long black and white feathers of the tail. After waiting for some time in an outer yard, where several people were seated on the ground, an elderly man came and presented me with some Goora-nuts.

I had despatched an Eboe boy with some of the chief's people to assist them in catching the promised bullock which was said to be a

very large one. After remaining several hours without anything of importance occurring, I returned to the ship, leaving orders for the bullock to be sent down to the water-side; but I began to suspect the sincerity of the chief. About dusk the Eboe boy returned with the excuse that the bullock was wild, but he told me at the same time that the chief's people did not try to catch it.

Determined to try the wavering chief once more, I inquired if I might employ one of my own men to shoot it. He returned for answer that I might, and that he would send some of his people to assist me and do everything to take it; at the same time desiring me to forward him another gun, as his was out of repair. I accordingly sent one, and despatched four of the men with guns and ropes to secure the bullock.

In a few hours, Al Hadge and the people returned without the bullock. Al Hadge stated that the chief could not be seen, and the natives would not allow them to kill the animal.

In this manner was I disappointed and tampered with, and it seemed likely that without immediate relief I should lose all my men from

want and sickness. I despatched a messenger to the chief, saying, that unless the bullock was sent down to me, I would most certainly set fire to the town; and in the evening word was sent by the chief to say that he would have the beast ready for us at the water's edge early in the morning.

In the evening I sent up two sky-rockets. The night being dark, they had a very pretty effect. As soon as they were fired, a violent shouting was heard on shore. One of the sticks on falling, struck a poor woman without doing her any injury; and the following morning the chief sent a very serious message, to know if the poor woman would die after being struck by the white man's fetish.

As I anticipated, no bullock appeared; and there were no hopes of proceeding. This was the more distressing, as all my white men, with the exception of the mate, were sick, four of them being quite incapable of duty. I was now driven to my own resources, and recollecting that a little pork was on board, I had it melted down; and the engineer, Hugh Dunleary, being of opinion that it would last eight hours, I again sent to the knavish chief for the promised bul-

lock, but received an answer that all the cows belonged to the women, who would not part with them.

At 10 A. M. steam being up, we got under weigh; and after firing a blank cartridge over the town, we proceeded on our course a few miles, when we got into shoal water. On getting off the engine would not work, in consequence of the cylinder again filling with hot water, and we were obliged to come to an anchor in two fathoms water.—Carpenter, mate, engineer, and one English seamen, very ill.

The following day, December 15th, being Sunday, we performed divine service. For the last three days we had had very heavy dews and cold nights. Thermometer during the day, 81°; in the night, 68°. A dense fog continued several hours after sunrise.—At six in the morning I ordered steam to be got up; but the cylinder again filled with hot water. The boilers were cleaned out and carefully examined.

The next morning at 9 A. M. we got the steam up, but were again prevented from proceeding by the filling of the cylinder. The steam was suffered to escape, and the fires drawn. It was extremely annoying to be thus troubled with the

engine. The feeding-pipe was out of repair; there was also a leak somewhere, but it could not be detected: each time that the steam was up and the boilers filled, the men were obliged to keep the pumps going, in consequence of the water in the hold. Our disaster was peculiarly unfortunate, as we were then in the most unhealthy country possible, and at the same time I had the mate, engineer, carpenter, and boatswain, with three blacks, on the sick-list. One week had been lost in waiting for oil, and from the failure of the engine.

The following morning the cylinder was hove on deck and examined. An opening was discovered betwixt the bottom and side of it, which was thought to be one of the causes of our failures. The aperture was filled, and the cylinder screwed up: the process of doing this occupied us the whole day.

At daylight on December 18th, steam was got up by our two black firemen, the engineer being ill: but unfortunately it escaped from some quarter or other, and, as usual, filled the engine-room and all parts of the vessel with steam, and all attempts to work the engine appeared to be useless. My determination, therefore, seeing the

vessel from the failure of the engine become immovable, was to proceed to Damuggoo or Idda in a canoe, in order to procure some assistance: for even though we should survive the sickness contracted in this unhealthy spot, we ran the risk of being starved; for the treacherous king, after having received from me some very handsome presents, would not allow his people to bring off any goats or yams for our support. If it were not that Mr. Lander had to pass these places in his boat, I would have placed the value of a bullock on the shore and seized the first I could lay my hands upon, for it was hard to starve amidst plenty.

I sent the canoe on shore to be repaired, ready for our trip.

CHAPTER XIV.

Proceed up the River in a Boat.— Value of an old Friend.— Hints on Trade. — Meet Abboka, the King of Iddah's brother.—Meeting of Al Hadge and his Master.—Arrive at Iddah in the Boat.— Visit Attah.—Friendly communications with the King.—Return to the Alburkah.—Mortality on Board.—Despatches sent to the Sea-coast.

THE next morning was far from fine, being foggy and hazy. My men had worked well, and the canoe was prepared for my journey to Attah. Six Kroomen, a fireman, and Al Hadge, the interpreter, were directed to prepare themselves to accompany me.

As the morning advanced, the fog cleared away, and we saw a great number of canoes assembled on a sandbank, with pieces of cloth of various hues flying from long bamboo poles. Their being collected in such numbers so near the vessel had a very suspicious appearance; but I was bent upon going, be the consequences what they might. Our canoe was provided with

a small portable magazine well stored with ball cartridge, and each man was armed with a musket.

After leaving written instructions with the chief officer, I took my departure from the ship at 7 A. M. committing myself to the care of the Omnipotent Being, who had so often shielded me from dangers.

About an hour after leaving the vessel, a canoe paddled close by us, containing thirty females; and two or three more came out of a creek, and shot past us with great rapidity; both parties gazing at each other with some anxiety. Several of Obie's canoes were within three hundred yards of us. The canoes which we had seen amounted to about three hundred, going up to Kirree market; and the river had the appearance of a regatta, almost every canoe having a piece of white cotton flying, on which were painted various devices, as skulls, crocodiles, trees, &c.

In the course of the morning, an Eboe canoe with an old acquaintance came alongside, who perceiving my men fatigued, willingly lent me four additional hands. Kirree market is held on a sandbank, which increases in size according to the decrease of the river: it was now about five miles in length. The canoes had been halted

for the night nearly two hours, and from the great number of fires lighted for the purpose of cooking, the sandbank wore the appearance of a town lighted with gas when seen from a distance. My Eboe friend recommended me to halt for the night some distance below Kirree, which I did at about 10 at night: his principal wife paid us a visit, bringing with her a fowl and some yams mashed up with palm-oil and highly seasoned with Cayenne pepper. As we were to pass the night in a strange place and might be easily attacked, I ordered my men to sleep abreast of the canoe on mats, and to keep their muskets under their heads.

At 5 A. M. on December the 20th, we left our resting-place, the weather being very foggy. During the last two days I found myself much indisposed. Before coming to Kirree market, a large canoe, which I supposed to be from Bonny, ran foul of us, with such force as nearly to capsize us; but, fortunately, the canoe of my Eboe friend was close alongside on my left, and mine being struck on the right, rested on it, and was prevented by it from being upset. As it was, my canoe was nearly filled with water, and was only prevented from sinking by some of the

crew leaping into that of my friend the Eboe native.

The black rascals ran against us with such impetuosity, that I concluded they did it with a view of upsetting and plundering us, or probably of doing something worse. They were dressed in monkey-jackets and sailors' tarpaulin hats, and had three colours flying. On discovering that they had failed in the accomplishment of their villainy, they paddled away, grinning at us like so many demons. My Eboe friend, who kept company with us, informed me that those people were after no good.

About 8 o'clock we passed the extremity of the sandbank. The native traders were busily employed in erecting their temporary houses for the reception of their slaves and merchandise. These traders form their huts by placing mats on the sandbank in an upright position, made from bamboo and sewed together. A channel, about twelve inches deep, is dug with the hands in the sand, and the edges or sides of the mats introduced, having the appearance of a triangle.

The Eboe people take up the river, powder, yams, beads, cloth, iron bars, and knives. These articles are conveyed to Bonny by the palm-oil

traders, and thence pass through the hands of three or four merchants into the possession of the Eboe dealers. They receive in return, slaves, rice, goats, fowls, calabashes, mats, country beads, horses of a small breed, and elephants' teeth; they also trade in Goora nuts. Cowries are the best medium of exchange; with these any purchases may be made.

The elephants' teeth, of which a great number are every week on their way down the river, after passing through various hands are carried to different parts of the coast. Some reach Bonny and New Calabar; others, and I think the greater portion, are taken to the Benin traders, and probably to Popo.

With the Eboes, the best articles of trade are guns, powder, cottons of a showy pattern with red and blue stripes, and knives fitted in an ornamented case and which they wear suspended from the left side. They also manifest a great partiality for rum, small looking-glasses, and cowries: the latter will purchase any article from Eboe up to Boosa, and passes current in every part of the interior.

A very extensive trade in palm-oil, red wood, and ivory, might, with proper management, be

carried on in the interior; the only, and I fear the greatest, objection to the establishment of a commercial intercourse being the great mortality and unhealthiness of the climate. Great as have been the losses of the present expedition, I do not think that such would again be the case, as we have acquired more accurate information, and are better acquainted with the most favourable time for undertaking such an expedition.

After leaving Kirree, there was a very visible change in the appearance of the river; not a canoe was discernible, and the most profound silence reigned everywhere. At 10 in the evening we made our halt for the night on a sandbank. The canoe was very leaky, owing to the severe concussion it had received from the Bonny canoe.

The next morning at 5, we continued on our way up the river. As we passed along, we saw a great number of slaves engaged in the cultivation of tobacco; and shortly after, met Abboka on a sandbank near to Damuggoo. The old man was very glad to see me, and embraced me most cordially three times. He made frequent inquiries after Mr. Lander, asking if he was well, repeat-

ing "Baturee la fore, baturee la fore?" (Is the white man well?)

Abboka now interrogated his head slave, Al Hadge, a very intelligent black, who had accompanied us down to Fernando Po as interpreter. He had been kindly treated by the governor, Colonel Nicolls, who sent Abboka a present of some powder and two excellent muskets; and on his telling Abboka that the Sullikeen (King) of Fernando Po had sent him guns and ammunition wherewith to destroy his enemies, the old chief was much delighted, and expressed much gratitude for the presents.

Al Hadge sat with his master nearly three hours, relating all the strange sights he had seen, dwelling with much emphasis on the men-of-war and the large houses at Fernando Po: he did not fail to mention the dangers experienced on the Great Salt Water, where, as he expressed it, the ship wanted to break;—all of which was listened to with much attention and interest by the old man.

Abboka presented me with some beautiful large onions, a fowl, yams, and some Indian corn bread, for which I gave him two bottles of

brandy, which he called "maghony chickee," (medicine for the belly). When we discovered him, he was seated under some mats, with several elephant-hunters, who were presenting him their half-year's tribute. Many of them had sheep, goats, and elephant's teeth, to pay it with; others paid it in slaves and cowries.

Shortly after my arrival, I informed Abboka of the object of my journey, and that I wanted Maccadania butter, and three or four large canoes to tow the ship up to Iddah, where I should be amongst my friends. To this he listened with great attention, and replied, that although he had not yet received all the tributes from his people, he would nevertheless leave one of his sons to act for him, and follow me up to his brother at Iddah. He then supplied me with several pullaboys, saying that he would come up after me.

A great number of the natives whom I found with Abboka were elephant-hunters, and had a very ferocious appearance. They were destitute of every article of clothing. Their skin was of a dark copper colour, their limbs of fine symmetrical formation, and their hair, after being plaited straight down, was inclosed in a little

bag, resembling in appearance a bag-wig. Their guns were their idols; several of them were hung with charms enclosed in leather, and one was literally covered with small studs of lead about the size of a nail's head.

About noon the next day, December 22nd, I took my departure for Iddah, and at night halted on a sandbank. The night was very fine, and a bright moon served to make it more so. We found a great difference in the atmosphere during the two last days: from foggy, thick weather, we were now enjoying a calm, serene, and cloudless sky.

At 5 A. M. on Monday, 23rd December, we departed for Iddah, where we arrived, after a laborious and most fatiguing journey, at 11 P. M. From the troublesome attacks of the musquitoes, and the apprehensions arising from the treachery of the natives, I had not been able to close my eyes since leaving the vessel on the morning of the 19th.

I found Mr. Brown, the clerk, quite well, and very glad to behold a European complexion again. On inquiry, I found that the king had behaved very kindly to him and his party in supplying them with provisions, but had made

several attempts to obtain possession of what few goods Mr. Brown had, on pretence of looking them over. Mr. Brown, however, acting up to the instructions he had received, did not bring them out of the house.

This morning we had a narrow escape from a hippopotamus, about ten o'clock. When near a very high sandbank, a large hippopotamus suddenly appeared from among some long grass, about five feet from the canoe. One of the Kroomen nearly struck him with his paddle; the animal gave a loud roar, and went down, agitating the water for a considerable distance. It is fortunate we were not a few moments earlier, or we should have had our canoe capsized.

After a comfortable rest, in the afternoon of the 24th I visited the King of Iddah, who welcomed me with much good humour, and began to tell me of part of his buildings having been destroyed by fire through the carelessness of a slave, who, he had learnt, was intoxicated at the time; so, in order to prevent a recurrence of such a disaster, he had ordered his head to be cut off, and his body cast into the Niger. Attah was very inquisitive as to the nature and quantity of goods which I had on board the vessel. I

gave him to understand that there was plenty, thinking it would be a strong inducement for him to assist us; and I was not mistaken in my opinion, for he was very anxious to know if we had plenty of velvet, satin, and handsome pieces of printed cotton—articles which met with a very ready sale. He promised to render me every assistance.

On the arrival of Abboka, I presented him also with a piece of cotton, some fancy cups, some rum, and some beads; and, in return, he gave an elephant's tooth and a goat.

Abboka came to me early the next morning, and proceeded directly to the king his brother. About two o'clock a horse was sent down to the water-side, and I went to the palace. I was conducted by Abboka to Amagdohby, the king's sister, who was also his head wife. She was remarkably civil, and requested us to seat ourselves on a platform slightly elevated, and covered over with a mat. She informed me that the king her brother was engaged with workmen, who were employed in rebuilding his houses. Several eunuchs and sixteen of the king's daughters were seated round the house crosslegged on a mat.

After a short time, some food was brought, consisting of pounded yams, overspread with palm-oil, and some fish highly seasoned with pepper. There was also another dish, of stewed fowl swimming in palm-oil and pepper. Some water was also brought in a calabash, into which the princesses dipped their fingers, and commenced an attack upon the former dish. For my part, I quite enjoyed the palm-oil, yams, and fish, and considered it a very excellent Christmas-day's dinner. Several pots of country beer were then brought in, which had a sweet and agreeable taste. The remains of the dishes were given to the Kroomen and other attendants.

Two of the king's daughters, very interesting-looking girls, about six or seven years of age, were desired by the queen to fan me; but I objected to it, saying that my own people would do it. However, she would not be refused, saying, I looked as if I were on fire, and the girls would do it better than my own attendants.

There was so much good nature about our hostess, that I became quite at home, and enjoyed a lively conversation, which was carried on by means of our interpreter, Al Hadge, who spoke a little English. He was obliged to tell all his

tales over again, and to relate what he saw in "white man's" country; meaning the salt water, Bonny, and Fernando Po. As he had been on board the Curlew, he did not forget to mention the war ships, Commander Trotter having kindly ordered him to be shown the guns and the interior of the vessel: and Al Hadge had preserved a high opinion of Sullikeen Yiki Hilligee (the King of the War-ship); meaning Captain Trotter.

In the course of the conversation, he took a small piece of paper from the corner of a handkerchief, in which he had carefully tied it: this, he said, was a charm against being drowned or sick, and that he was going to have it enclosed in a piece of leather to wear round his wrist. It was nothing more or less than a scrap of paper on which were written two or three names: it was given him by one of the midshipmen of the Curlew, and in the opinion of Al Hadge was of inestimable value. I could not help smiling at the poor fellow's credulity.

Al Hadge had also brought with him a piece of coal, which he laid before the queen with much gravity, telling her that it was "maghony hoota," (medicine for fire). Abboka and the princess examined it very minutely. He had

preserved it nearly six weeks, and had brought it a distance of five hundred miles, from Fernando Po, in order to show it to his countrymen.

The queen now suddenly pulled me by the sleeve, and led me into a yard through two apartments, the doors of which were so low that we were obliged to creep on our hands and feet. The object was for me to see the king's workmen put up the frame for the roof of the house: this is afterwards covered over with bamboo, cut into pieces, and arranged a few inches apart, and then plastered over with mud. There are about a hundred and twenty houses, enclosed by a wall a few feet high, in which Attah's favourite wives reside, the whole number of which exceeded two thousand. On a mound at the southern entrance of the queen's apartment, was a pile of fifteen human skulls, eight of which were evidently quite fresh: the king is in the habit of thus butchering three or four slaves every week, to appease, as he says, the wrath of the river-god. In going through the outer door of the queen's apartments I struck my head against something, and drawing back to see what it was, I found a dead fowl, a mullet, and a tortoise, in a state of putrefaction, suspended over the door

as a charm, I was told, to prevent the entrance of bad people.

The queen, who always took my arm (understanding it to be the custom of the white people), accompanied me. On being introduced, his majesty, whose eyes sparkled with good humour, accosted me as yesterday with "Senoo, senoo, Sullikeen Maghony? amalee?" (How do you do, King of Medicine? how have you slept?) This inquiry is considered to be a very great compliment, and the reply was, "Etashee" (very well). He was habited in a very large pair of Houssa trousers, the hind part reaching to the ground: they were made of yellow cotton, some of which he had procured from Mr. Lander. The remainder of his dress consisted of a silk tobe and an amazing quantity of beads.

There were present, the king and his sister, the queen, Abboka, some chiefs from the neighbourhood, several of his daughters, and about twenty eunuchs, whose heads were entirely shaved, with the exception of a small circular patch on the crown. They were all seated on some mats and cotton spread out in the yard. The king was seated in a chair which he obtained from Mr. Lander on his first voyage up the river.

I now stated that I was in want of canoes to tow the ship up the river, and also of some Shea butter for the engine. I likewise informed him of the conduct of the chief who governed the town where the vessel then was, how he had behaved respecting the bullock after detaining me five days; that in consequence of his refusing me a bullock, the engine would not work; and that the poor white men were all sick from the insalubrity of the climate. I told the king that whatever number of men were sent, I would remunerate them for their trouble, and reward their masters for their kindness.

A long discussion was now carried on in the presence of about nearly two hundred people. The king then said that he had given that town, Atchimary, to his brother Abboka, and though partly situated in his dominions, and partly in those of the king of Eboe, the generality of the natives belonged to the latter sovereign. He said that I was wrong in not taking a bullock, and that if I had seized ten it would have been perfectly right.

I told him I would lighten the ship by taking out of her the heavy goods; when Attah said, "Oh, we will have the ship up, if she is carried

on men's heads." He was desirous evidently that she should come, for two reasons;—one of which was, that the trade would increase his revenue; and the other, for protection against the Felatahs, who had expressed a determination to attack his town, and which I promised to protect. He said the people would return in two days from the Iccory market, and used many arguments to induce me to wait their arrival.

Although straitened for time and uneasy at being such a distance from the vessel, I considered my stay was necessary;—and two days to an African are not so valuable as two minutes are to us.

I accidentally remarked, that in case Attah could not supply us with men, I would have recourse to Obie for assistance; which displeased the king very much, who observed, that it would be very wrong in me to do so, for that both Mr. Lander and I had promised that the vessel should come up to his town.

The king was exceedingly kind, but still I could not place entire confidence in him. He told me, whatever I might be in want of,—whether bullocks, goats, sheep, fowls, yams, horses, or anything else,—to let him know, and I should

have them; but if I did not apprise him of my necessities, he could not be acquainted with them, and it would be my fault. Among other questions, he asked if his "aguyshaker" (respects) had been made to his brother the King of England, and if his majesty had received the horse he sent him. To the first question, I replied, that a book (a letter) had gone to England, and that no doubt the king would hear of it; and to the second, that the horse was on Becken-roa (the salt water), at Fernando Po.

An eclipse of the moon being about to take place on this night, I apprised the king of it, who with his people appeared very much surprised, and determined to keep watch for it, although they were incredulous as to the truth of my statement; and in this manner I left the king, with a promise that I would see him the next day.

It was nearly 7. 30 P. M. when we reached English Island, and I felt very much fatigued from want of repose and excessive heat. I had brought a few currants and some flour with me from the ship, and enjoyed a second Christmas dinner in Africa.

The eclipse took place a few minutes before

8 P. M. and lasted upwards of two hours and three-quarters; but I had no time-keeper to note the observation by. The darkness continued an hour and a half, and the natives of English Island and Iddah were very much alarmed, and anxious in their inquiries as to what would become of the moon. Several of the natives left Iddah, and crossed over to the island to know what I was doing; many others were praying, and repeating passages from the Koran.

In the evening I gave the Kroomen some rum, while I thought of distant friends, and wished them all a merry Christmas. In consequence of the heavy dews which fall during the night, I had taken cold, and felt a stiffness throughout my whole frame.

The next day I was very unwell, and was confined to my mat: and the day after, not being much better, the king sent two eunuchs to inquire after my health, and to make his respects.

On the following day (December 28th) at 8 A. M. Muzzah came down to say that Abboka would be very happy to see me, and would be down in about an hour. I waited patiently for him until 12 o'clock, but he never came, and I

prepared the long-boat, which had been left at Iddah at our departure to the sea-side, for our passage to the steamer.

About 1 P. M. Abboka sent to inform me that he was waiting to accompany me to the king and settle the palaver. This intelligence afforded me great satisfaction, as I was very desirous of returning to the vessel: I had now been here five days without receiving any satisfactory answer.

Abboka had his horse ready, with several iron bells jingling at its head for the occasion. He offered me the use of it; but I preferred walking, though the day was excessively hot, and he accompanied me. The only companion I had with me was Mr. Brown; and this was the first time we had gone either unarmed or without five or six attendants.

After a short stay in the queen's apartments, I sent to the king, to say that I was very anxious to have the palaver settled, in order that I might return to the ship. In a few minutes a eunuch returned, to say that the king expected us; and after passing, as usual, through numerous houses, yards, and passages, we were ushered into the royal presence. We found his

majesty seated on his chair, with a circular cloth of yellow, red, and green, under his feet as a carpet. A great number of chiefs from the neighbouring villages were assembled, and his majesty was richly attired in a tobe of rich, figured, purple velvet; his toes were adorned with a string of small red seed-beads, and the nails, as well as those of his fingers, stained with henna.

After a few compliments had passed on both sides, the palaver began. A long, and apparently an earnest conversation was carried on between the king and his chiefs; after which the former, addressing me through the interpreter, said, "Sullikeen Mahgony, Abboka will go down with three canoes, accompanied by my son; and you are to send two of your own bowers (slaves) with each canoe-load of goods." I immediately replied, that I would not send goods by any canoe; but that if I did send any at all, they should come in the long-boat, and be taken to Mr. Brown.

I began to entertain suspicions that the king wanted to get the goods into his own possession; but this I was determined to prevent, and cautioned Mr. Brown, in the event of any arriving,

against letting any of the natives meddle with them.

The king also said, that Abboka would see the Chief of Atchimary, and insist upon his sending two bullocks in the place of one.

His majesty was much amused at our mode of salutation by shaking hands, and inquired the time of our departure; to which I replied, "when the moon rose." After the usual salutations had been gone through, we parted on very good terms.

I called at Abboka's house to inquire if Al Hadge was ready to accompany me; but he had a lame foot and was unable to move. However, pilot or no pilot, I was bent upon leaving that night, aware that the greatest difficulty I should experience would be the want of an interpreter. I had to sail nearly two hundred miles in the boat before I could reach the Alburkah, and I thought, under such circumstances, that it was much better to depart, rather than run the risk of being detained two or three days, particularly as the river was falling very considerably.

On arriving at the river-side, I felt ill, and was assisted into the long-boat by Mr. Brown, in a complete state of exhaustion. About 9 P. M. feeling somewhat easier, we fired a gun, which

was mounted on the bows of the boat, and got under weigh, with the canoe in which I came towing astern.

We made the best of our way, and reached the Alburkah at 3 P. M. on Monday, December 30th, after having rested only two hours out of the forty-two. I felt truly grateful that we had accomplished the journey in so short a time and without accident; but my satisfaction at this was quickly damped by finding that Hugh Dunleary, the engineer—Samuel Harvey, boatswain, and two men, had died during my absence. Being now left without an engineer, I had only to trust to the black firemen. I also found the carpenter, William Miller, and Francisco, a Spaniard, on the point of death. The mate, Mr. Huntington, was very ill, and labouring under *delirium tremens* from *excessive drinking*. It is difficult to account for the infatuation of some men, who go out to the coast of Africa, and commit all kinds of excesses, drinking to intoxication, and exposing themselves to the heavy dews by sleeping on the deck, when they are aware of the consequences inseparable from such a course. They are seized with fever, become alarmed, give themselves up to despair—refuse advice, medi-

cine, &c. and terminate their existence in sufferings on the seventh or tenth day.

The first thing I did after my arrival was to have the vessel cleaned out and well fumigated, and the engine-room and forecastle whitewashed. In order to lighten the vessel, I had intended putting some of the goods into the long-boat, and entrusting them to the care of the mate; but I found him too ill to undertake a journey of so many miles, and unless there was a change for the better in his illness, he could not expect to continue long in this world. I gave intimation to two black men, Johnson and Jeffry, that it was my intention to make another trial the next day, and that they were to prepare for it; and I was glad that Johnson had a very good idea of working the engine. Finding some dirt in the pipe leading to the cylinder, I ordered it to be well cleaned out.

This being New Year's Eve, I gave the Kroomen some rum, and sent up two sky-rockets for the two years I had passed in Africa, regretting at the same time that no white men bore me company.

In the course of the evening, King Obie's eldest son, accompanied by one of the principal men,

came on board and remained with us a considerable time. I gave them two bottles of rum, and wrote a letter to Mr. Lander, which I sent with two dollars to Obie to induce him to forward it to King Boy by the earliest opportunity.

Dollars are in great request among the kings and chiefs of the interior, who use them as rings for the fingers. They first drill two holes about the centre, into which they insert a circular piece of lead for the finger, the flat surface of the dollar being on the upper part of the hand, like a large seal-ring.

I was told by Obie's son that Abboka had arrived at the town abreast of us, with a great number of canoes.

CHAPTER XV.

The Alburkah again under weigh.—An Anchor lost.—Death of the Mate.—Difficulties of ascending the River.—Arrival at Iddah.—Motives of the Expedition suspected.—Rumours of Plots against the Vessel.

On the 1st January 1834, as soon as the men had received their New Year's glass, the fires were lighted for the purpose of making our last trial with the engine; and I was in anxious hopes that the result might be successful.

About an hour after the gun had been fired, Abboka, accompanied by Sullikeen Caswau, his relative and inspector of the markets, came alongside. He had brought with him ten large war-canoes, each containing fifty or sixty men, who were to assist in towing up the vessel. I now began to think that the King of Iddah was not in jest when he said that "the vessel should come up even if it were carried on men's heads," for certainly there was almost a sufficient number of men to carry the little iron boat.

The fires had been lighted since six o'clock, and several attempts had been made to get the vessel under weigh, but without success, till about 10 A. M. when the paddles began to move very slowly, but increased in the number of their strokes, and at 11 A. M. to my inexpressible delight, we were fairly under weigh.

Abboka appeared at first astonished; but soon his joy broke out, and he gave me three precious hugs to impress upon me the sincerity of his satisfaction. He then looked at me, and said, in a serious tone, that "He thought the ship would walk, as he had made a great Ju-ju the day before, and Ju-ju had made good palaver." I laughed, and pointing to the sky, exclaimed, "Allah, Allah um de le tarfee!" (God is great!) By some unaccountable mistake, in getting under weigh the mate let the anchor go, and forty feet of chain ran completely out. I left the jolly-boat, and six men to endeavour to regain it.

About 2 P. M. the fuel being expended, I stopped for wood. Abboka's men were each furnished with an axe, and sent out to assist in cutting it.

It was a great satisfaction that we were enabled to proceed by steam, as I know not

what we could have done without it: certain it is, that we should have had considerable difficulty in getting up to Iddah; and had the king's people obtained possession of the goods, we should never have seen either them or their equivalent in cowries. Fortunately there was plenty of water even at this late period of the season in several places. Both when I went and returned on my late journey, I sounded and examined the river most minutely. As soon as the engine was started, it appeared to labour; but when once fairly set in motion, it worked very well. I found that several things had been missing since my absence: two cases of cutlasses had been broken open, and many of them carried away.

Thursday, January 2nd.—Last night, Abboka, and a son of the King of Iddah, and the inspector of markets, went on shore to sleep. In the course of the evening, I thanked Abboka for the canoes, and desired him to dismiss them, as I should not stand in need of their services.

At 11 A. M. we got under weigh, and continued our course until 5 P. M. when we again stopped for half an hour, and anchored off Kirree at 8. 40 P. M.

The canoes kept company with us until

dusk, when they passed us, the slaves singing in each canoe as they proceeded. Their songs in general appear to be extemporaneous effusions. They seem to be led by one person, who is followed by all the rest in succession : they have a pleasing effect, and I always felt a pleasure in hearing them. The natives of Ibbodo (the Kacundah of Lander) make a peculiar noise with the tongue against the roof of the mouth. It is customary for each trader to carry four, five, or six wives with him in his canoe.

Abboka and his sable companions remained with us all day and night. They were accommodated with mats, whilst I kept watch until relieved at four o'clock in the morning. I had only five or six men on board, the rest being absent getting the anchor, and the mate was still very ill. We anchored in five fathoms.

The next morning, the Kroomen who had been left to search for the anchor returned unsuccessful, in consequence of the strength of the current.

Having received a supply of wood, we got under weigh at 5. 45 P. M. and ran on to Accowaree (the Kirree of Messrs. Lander), where we anchored at 8. 40 P. M. By the Iddah and Eboe people the Kirree country is named Ebau, and the Accowaree is the Kirree of Lander; it was

here that they were upset in their canoe. We anchored in two fathoms. The mate still getting worse; the others, a little better.

Before daylight the next morning, I sent the Kroomen ashore to cut wood; and at 10. 30, we got under weigh. An immense concourse of natives assembled on the banks, and by signs invited us to land. I ran the vessel close along the bank, where nearly two thousand persons were congregated, silently watching our progress.

Abboka left us early this morning in order to tell the natives to prepare wood for us. He was very anxious to know what goods I had on board; and as I would not satisfy his curiosity, he appeared dissatisfied at my reserve. He was now gone to his own country, named by the natives Amar, and by Lander, Adamuggoo.

At 3. 40 P. M. John Huntington, mate, departed this life. He was in his twenty-seventh year, and with the exception of the carpenter, he was the last Englishman I had left in the Alburkah. I examined his remains, and found the liver very soft, considerably enlarged, and in some parts much decayed. I was told that during my absence up the river, he attempted to run the steward through the body for refusing to allow

him spirits. He was a good officer, but prone to drinking, which was his greatest fault.

While I was engaged in examining the body, Al Hadge came on board, and was dreadfully alarmed at seeing me so occupied. He was once present when I bled a man; and on my jestingly offering to do the same for him, he jumped overboard, saying, "Sullikeen Maghony, white doctor no good."

At 1 A. M. we anchored for wood, and about six were under weigh, and again anchored at 8.55 P.M. Miller the carpenter was better; so that I had now some hopes of the company of one white man.

The next morning was dull and foggy. I sent the Kroomen on shore to prepare a grave for the deceased mate, on a high bank near to Damuggoo, wherein his remains were interred with the usual ceremonies.

At daylight of the 6th of January, got under weigh; and having once stopped for wood, at 4 P. M. the vessel ran aground. The country around was thickly populated, the people wearing tobes, and pieces of white cotton over their shoulders: they appeared on the banks, and seemed very anxious for us to land. There had been a considerable fall in the river, which by

marks in some places was as much as thirty-six feet. The tract of land from Accowaree, or the Ebau country, to Damuggoo belongs to Abboka, and the part lying between Damuggoo and Iddah is called the Amar country.

We were now aground, and unable to get the vessel off owing to the decayed state of the ropes. I was very unwell from over-exertion, having been up nearly every night since the 1st of January; and the loss of the mate dispirited me so much, that I was unable to attend to the duties of the vessel. However, having obtained the assistance of twenty canoe-boys in addition to our own men, after two hours' labour we succeeded in getting the vessel afloat again. A eunuch, and a son of the King of Iddah, a fine able-bodied man, were both very industrious. Having promised the men a cutlass each for their exertions, they all laboured most strenuously. At one time we had only a foot of water under the vessel's bows; but by concentrating our force, and directing our efforts against one side, we succeeded in working her from her sandy bed into deeper water. The young prince entered into the business with the utmost energy, and stripped off his two tobes in order to labour

with more vigour. But this gave me an opportunity of witnessing the charms he wore. There were eight leathern thongs round his neck, and four round each wrist, to which were attached charms encased in leather. Under the two Houssa tobes he wore a Yarriba one, which was very small and made to fit closely to the body: the front of it was completely covered with charms. As soon as he had divested himself of his tobes, he leaped overboard, and assisted materially in extricating the vessel. The market-inspector, to show his zeal, immediately imitated the example of his prince.

I secured the assistance of these two eminent persons by informing them that Abboka had behaved ill in not sending his people to help us, although he was aware of our being aground and was within four hundred yards of the vessel. I presented each of them with a looking-glass for their trouble.

I had not seen Abboka for two days. He was very anxious to get some beautiful printed cottons into his possession, and my non-compliance with his wishes, I suspect, offended him. I was told that he was now collecting all the ivory he could, in order to try what quantity of goods

would be given for it. In my opinion, he is a good man, but unable to divest himself of that predominant spirit of avarice which is invariably to be met with in the African, though evincing itself in many different ways.

About 5. 30 we got under weigh again; but the steam not being up, and the channel so narrow as not to admit of our turning the vessel without danger of running aground, we dropped down the river with the current, stern first, for about two miles.

Abboka, I learnt, was gone to Damuggoo. He had been informed of our surprise at his not assisting us when aground, and sent twenty yams, with some scrivelloes and elephants' teeth for inspection.

A great number of hippopotami were blowing within a hundred yards of us.

It was some matter of surprise and regret to me, that since the visit of the king's eunuch and the inspector of the markets, none of the natives had approached us with goats or provisions, of which we were greatly in need. I had one fowl, a few yams, and some plantains, which I gave to the people, whilst I regaled myself with a small piece of pork nearly in a state of putre-

faction, having been boiled nearly fourteen days.

At 9 P. M. we anchored off Damuggoo.

The next morning, January 8th, sent the Kroomen ashore to cut wood, and soon after learned that Abboka was indisposed and on a sandbank above the town. A large elephant's tooth was brought on board for sale, but was taken back on account of the exorbitant demand for it not being given.

I now began to be displeased with Abboka's movements, and to suspect that he had had other motives besides those of rendering me assistance up the river. I sent an invitation for him to come on board; when he returned for answer, that he would halt at a town a little higher up, and would visit me on board at night. He proceeded, however, to Iddah, without stopping.

This evening I detected Al Hadge, the interpreter, in the act of stealing several papers of needles. I cautioned him against a second act of the kind, and took no further notice of it. He is, on the whole, a very good man, but, like the rest of his countrymen, is much inclined to peculation.

At 7 A. M. on the 9th of January, we got under

weigh, and at 10 hove-to for a supply of wood abreast a town named Ojay: the name of the chief is Hoonuga, a tributary to Abboka. Here we purchased a great quantity of red wood.* We had twenty-five feet of water close to the bank,—perhaps the only town on the river that can boast of so much water at this late period of the season. The place is very convenient for loading vessels. Great quantities of red wood can be purchased here for a few common knives or beads: should I be fortunate enough to return in safety, I intended taking a few tons of it to Fernando Po. The carpenter spoke very highly of it, and preferred it to any that he had seen even at Old Calabar.

Continuing on our course, at 5 P. M. we again anchored for wood. Fortunately I had made some sketches and noted the soundings on my way up the river in the canoe at several places, and now found them of great service to me; for without them I do not know whether I should have succeeded in getting up. The river was now falling very rapidly: for several miles we were making our way through four feet and a half of water, and the vessel drew four feet and a quarter.

* Which sells for 20*l.* per ton.

On Friday, January 10th, we were off a town named Hootapa, the chief's name of which was Oheekallow. The weather was dull and gloomy, and it was now the season which corresponds to that on the sea-coast known by the name of the Smokes, and considered as the most unhealthy portion of the year. Oheekallow came on board and dashed us a kid and a canoe-load of wood.

Since the King of Iddah's people had been on board, we were every morning supplied with palm wine made lukewarm, and very pleasant for drinking. I found the practice of smoking, both to me and the people, a very efficacious preventive of sickness during this unhealthy weather, and I therefore supplied the men with a sufficiency of leaf tobacco.

At 12. 45 P. M. we unfortunately ran aground again, and continued so for about half an hour.

I had been much mortified this morning at the conduct of the market-inspector and the eunuch. A large canoe was coming alongside, with two large teeth and some yams, when it was stopped by these two official personages, and ordered to return, as the teeth could not be purchased. As I had conjectured, it was the interference of these two persons that had pre-

vented the people from coming to us with both ivory and provisions: I therefore told them, through the medium of the interpreter, that if I heard of their preventing any other canoes from coming alongside, I would throw them overboard, and that I would not allow spies to be in the vessel for a single moment. It appeared that they had received instructions to watch everything on board, and to see what commodities were contained in the vessel; for the sovereigns Attah and Abboka, being extensive merchants, had determined not to allow their subjects to trade until they had selected the best articles for themselves.

At 7. 30 P. M. owing to the darkness of the night, we got into shoal water, where we anchored. The river from the Accowaree market through the Eboe country is extremely shallow: since I was here with the canoe the week before, it had fallen very considerably.

The Maccadania or Shea butter I had purchased and brought down with me from Iddah was now expended; but fortunately I managed to procure two large pots of it this morning, which would last us two or three weeks. The engine on the whole worked very well: the only

difficulty experienced was at starting, when, from the failure of the steam, we were drifted by the strength of the current on the sandbanks which surrounded us.

Wilson, our second head Krooman, a remarkably fine-looking man, was flogged this morning, for drinking a bottle of grog which was sent ashore for the Kroomen, and afterwards coming on board intoxicated and neglecting his duty. Having lost all my officers, I felt myself compelled to make this example, in order to keep the men to their duty and to preserve subordination.

Two attempts were made to get the vessel off; but owing to the failure of the engine, both times, we did not succeed, and we let the water out of the boilers in order to lighten the vessel.

The next day we succeeded once more in our endeavours to get the vessel afloat; but owing to another failure of the engine, we again got aground. In the afternoon we made several attempts, but from the same causes we were again driven on a bank in two feet water. We now took some of the heavy goods out of the vessel in order to lighten her, and placed them in the long-boat. This occupied us from daybreak

until 8 A. M. and I feared I should have to warp her a quarter of a mile across the river.

The carpenter, who had been much better during the last few days, had now relapsed, and became much worse. Several market-canoes from Iddah passed us this morning for the Accowaree market.

The eunuch and king's messenger, fearing that I should put my threat of throwing them overboard into execution, left the next morning for Iddah.

At 2. 45 P. M. we got the vessel into deep water, after being aground three days, under weigh, and anchored at 5 P. M.

On Tuesday, January 14th, at 4. 30 A. M. I sent the Kroomen for wood; and at 1. 30 P. M. we got under weigh. About twenty minutes afterwards we were aground. At 7 P. M. anchored abreast the creek leading to Iddah: fired a gun, and despatched a boat for Brown and Jowdie, who had been left there.

Thus, after almost insurmountable difficulties and great labour for the space of fourteen days, we succeeded in reaching this place. For the last fortnight we had had no other food than yams. The men were much fatigued, and I felt

very unwell; but I trusted that in a few days we should be quite re-established. The poor carpenter continued very unwell. Having a fine milch goat on board, which supplied us daily with a pint of milk, this was a most acceptable treat to him. In the course of the night, the king's son and a eunuch came, at a very late hour, and halted and slept on a sandbank opposite the Alburkah. The King of Iddah sent his best respects, to inform me by these two persons that the place where I was then at anchor was not a very good one. I was rather suspicious of his motives: I had anchored at the entrance of a creek, where I had some idea of remaining,—for had I gone up to Iddah, I should not have been able to leave until the commencement of the rains, and I was unwilling to place too much confidence in the professions of Attah. I sent a present to the king in return, consisting of two pieces of cotton, a large looking-glass, a basin of salt, and a pot of sugar. I had felt myself very unwell during the entire day.

The next day, the king again sent to say that the place where I was anchored was very inconvenient for trade, being at too great a distance

from the town; so that I found myself obliged to run all risks and get under weigh. I sent a boat out with Kroomen to sound the river, as a part which I had to pass was very shallow, from two trees of an enormous size growing in the middle of the stream, and giving additional strength to the current from their obstructing its course.

At 3 P. M. we got under weigh and ran aground. In a short time we got off, but, from the rapidity of the current, again drifted on a sandbank. Our deck tackle was in a very bad condition, all the ropes being rotten and good for nothing: the hawser and deck tackle parted several times. After making the most persevering efforts until 11 P. M. we were obliged to desist for the night.

At 5. 30 A. M. of the 17th, we carried out the anchor on the bows, and at 9 A. M. succeeded in getting off the shoal. At 4 P. M. we got under weigh, one of the king's canoes going ahead of us, whilst we followed in the track. Numbers of individuals were watching our arrival: the tops of the hill of Iddah were covered with natives, who, with their various cotton garments of blue, white, and red, gave an unusually novel appearance to the whole scene.

At this season the passage up to Iddah is both intricate and replete with difficulty; but at 5. 15 P. M. we anchored abreast the landing-place leading to Iddah, from which it is distant one mile,—English Island being on the opposite side of the river. We fired a salute of nine guns and gave three hearty huzzas to announce our arrival. Attah immediately sent us a present of a goat and sixty yams.

I felt great satisfaction in being at length anchored in our present situation; though my feelings of pleasure were not unmingled with unfeigned regret on reflecting that in the accomplishment of my purpose, in one of the most sickly periods of the year, I had lost the chief mate, engineer, boatswain, and two men. At this season, the retreating waters leaving all sorts of animal and vegetable decomposition on the banks, malaria abounds, and the excessive fatigue arising from so much exertion in the heated and tainted atmosphere is most overpowering. Those only can appreciate our sufferings who have been similarly situated in a tropical climate and under a vertical sun: they only can imagine the difficulties of navigating a river abounding with sandbanks, five months after the

usual time. The Kroomen, although natives of the country, have been obliged to rest for hours before they could resume their work: the engine also has been a source of great uneasiness and anxiety to me.

The next day we were engaged in the selection of goods for the quarter-deck; and on Sunday, 19th January, I visited the king and Abboka, who was unwell from diarrhœa:—he wished me to give him medicine, and appeared anxious to trade with us. The king likewise seemed very friendly to us, and presented me with a fine elephant's tooth. Abboka requested me to call and see him on my return as he was anxious to have some palaver. Accordingly I did so on my way from the king, and was much surprised when he told me that the motives of our voyage were suspected by a great many, who said that we were spies and come to deprive them of their country.

I soon found that this report originated in an innocent but indiscreet act of the clerk (Mr. Brown), who one day, when riding near the king's palaces, left his attendant, who had been ordered to remain with him, and galloping some distance into the country, had suddenly

gone into a town belonging to the King of Iddah, about five or six miles from this place. The natives, mistaking him for a Felatah horseman, fled on his approach and abandoned their dwellings. This intelligence reaching the ears of the king, he was highly indignant, as he was desirous of keeping the inhabitants of this town entirely ignorant of the arrival of the vessel. The head men of the town, who had been instrumental in placing Attah upon the throne, waited upon him, and complained of his conduct in concealing the arrival of the white men, and thereby preventing them from exchanging their ivory, oil, and wood for the goods of the whites.—Abboka also said that he understood we were about to injure the town, and asked me if I had any objection to write a book. I did all in my power to remove such unfavourable impressions from the mind of Abboka, and employed one of his slaves, named Amerboo, residing on English Island, to purchase provisions for us, such as yams, pepper, beer, rice, &c.

A large tooth weighing eighty-six pounds was purchased this evening.

The 21st of January was appointed by the king for trading, and accordingly, Amagdohby,

the queen, came on board, about eleven o'clock, accompanied by seven eunuchs. We received her majesty with a salute of seven guns, and she brought with her three teeth weighing a hundred and sixteen pounds. I might have considered myself favoured in this respect, as she never brought more than two at a time to Mr. Lander. Nevertheless, we found her a difficult trader. She wore a piece of our green velvet round her head, and was dressed in a country cloth.

It seems that the quality of our Manchester cottons is too good for these markets, for the Africans will not pay the price of them. The printed cottons are too good, and the pieces too large. I had some of them divided into two smaller ones of fourteen yards each; which answered better, as the traders always agreed for so many pieces.

I have before alluded to a report that had reached Abboka respecting our intentions, and yesterday it was again mentioned. Abboka now asked me if I would "really write a book," as they consider everything in the shape of writing on paper as sacred; and I consented to draw up an agreement, to set their suspicions at rest.

The king expressed a wish that our men should be forbidden to interrupt the married women, or

the king's wives on meeting them on shore; and I assured his majesty, as well as the queen, that I would comply with every reasonable demand, and as far as possible remove every just cause of complaint.

Another interesting subject of conversation turned up respecting the vessels on their first arrival. Attah said that he did not see Mr. Lander when he came up the river, though he was very desirous of seeing the white men and their ships; but that Mr. Lander, instead of giving him the preference, went up the river, and traded with the Kings of Fundah and Cuttum-Curaffee. He told us that he was very angry when a slave belonging to the King of Fundah came into his dominions wearing a pink velvet tobe, which was itself king's cloth:—the velvet had been procured from one of the vessels. The King of Fundah, he also said, had been presented with a beautiful sword; and that one of his own subjects, going to Fundah, was addressed by a native of that place, who said, "There! look at this beautiful sword! has the King of Iddah got such a sword as this? No; white man did not bring him a sword." Here then was the murder out, and Attah had since the steamers were up the river been exceedingly

indignant that he was not traded with. It thus becomes a difficult matter to know who is to be traded with, and who is not.

Attah also confessed that he had caused poison to be administered to poor old Pascoe. He accused Pascoe of being the sole cause of the vessels going up the river, and of giving all the best goods to the Kings of Fundah and Cuttum-Curaffee; and that he had been informed that one of his eunuchs heard Pascoe tell Mr. Lander, in the Houssa language, to get away directly, as the King of Iddah was no good, but a very bad man. Attah told me that his heart turned up against them,—particularly against poor Pascoe, who, along with Braham, another interpreter, had had poison administered to them. They had been both invited to partake of some foofoo by Mallam Catab at Addacoodah. In consequence of the destruction of the town by the Felatahs at that time, the Mallam then resided on a sand-bank. Poor old Pascoe was very hungry, and ate heartily of the poisoned dish; but Braham, fortunately suspecting something, ate but little. Old Pascoe did not long survive his meal: he went on board his vessel, complained of his stomach, and shortly after expired.

Mr. Lander always suspected the King of Iddah of having been the cause of Pascoe's death, and the deaths of the seven Kroomen, who, it appeared, had been too familiar with some of his women. He had also been informed that it was the intention of Attah, if he could get him into his power, to make him subservient to his seraglio by numbering him amongst his eunuchs. I was quite astonished at the open avowal of all these atrocities; but my surprise was somewhat lessened by my previous knowledge of this man.

Human life, in the estimation of Attah, is valued as little as that of a fowl. I told him that he acted very wrongly in attaching blame either to Mr. Lander or Pascoe, as Mr. Lander had been informed that he was a very cruel, capricious, and tyrannical man, and daily cutting people's heads off. Mr. Lander, I also told him, had been apprised of his intentions, and that both vessels were well armed, and prepared to resent any injury the king might attempt to inflict. I reproached him with having sent some of his war-canoes to Addacoodah to attack the vessels. To this he replied, that what people had said of him was untrue, and that he had never sent his canoes to attack the ships.

However, by way of closing our conference amicably, I told him that the time was now come for him to show whether or not he was the friend of the white man, and that an opportunity now presented itself of gaining the friendship of the English people; that this was the first attempt to establish a trade with him, and that he would be the first king who had seen and encouraged the means of adding to his country's prosperity. On leaving me, he presented me with two goats and thirty yams, and we parted on excellent terms. He requested that the trade-woman Amerboo might be sent to Iddah market, with beads, snuff-boxes, looking-glasses, knives, and antimony,—with which latter the natives paint the edges of their eyelids; and thus ended our first day's trade.

The carpenter and four Kroomen sick.

Amerboo was very successful in selling beads, &c. to the amount of fourteen thousand cowries, which proved exceedingly useful in the purchase of provisions, but I regretted very much that we had not a few tons of these very necessary and essential articles.

On the 24th January, Abboka came on board, having had an attack of dysentery, to which the

natives at this season of the year are very subject. He is now in a state of convalescence, and very thankful for the relief I had afforded him with medicine.—Forty pounds of ivory were purchased this morning. Abboka's son also came on board. A house was to have been erected for me on English Island against my return to Iddah, and Mr. Lander had made Abboka considerable presents, amongst which was a beautiful coral necklace, and other articles of considerable value. On my arrival here with the canoe a month ago, the house was not begun, and still remained unfinished. Abboka and his son wished me to make a few more presents before they proceeded to the completion of it: but I told them that I had nothing whatever to do with the house, that Mr. Lander had agreed with them and paid them for the erection of it, and that they might either complete or leave it—but that I would not give them the value of aflint towards it. I also gave them to understand, that if they were desirous of being Mr. Lander's friends, they had better finish it; for that I expected that gentleman every day, and he would feel angry and disappointed at the house not being ready.

At 9 in the morning I called the Kroomen aft,

and communicated to them the request of the king that none of the women should be molested, and threatened any man convicted on a charge of this nature with loss of wages, a severe flogging, and his discharge.

Abboka seemed much pleased at this attention to the king's wishes, and said that the men might go to any part of the town provided they left the females unmolested. He remained until evening; and on his departure I presented him with a fancy cap and a piece of cloth, in return for which he sent me thirty yams.

CHAPTER XVI.

Articles of Commerce agreed on and signed. — Ceremony on the occasion.—Procession of Females.—The King's Fool.—Demand for Presents. — Stock of Trading Articles exhausted. — Rains. — First Rumours of Lander's Attack. — Cruelties of Attah. — Origin of an African War.—Further Plots against the Vessel.—Precautions adopted.

THE queen had signified her intention of coming on board for the purpose of trading, and today, 25th of January, according to appointment we expected her; but she did not make her appearance,—proving that even the word of royalty in Africa is unworthy of confidence. The weather was thick and foggy, with strong breezes from the eastward.

The next morning a messenger arrived, soon after we had read prayers, with Mallam Catab's respects, saying he was very sorry we had not gone to Addacoodah, where there was abundance of ivory to be had. This I did not doubt, and

had my poor men lived, I would have gone up thither in the long-boat. I was informed that Braham, the interpreter, who joined us at Cape Coast and defrauded Mr. Lander, was now at Addacoodah quite well.

The queen sent to-day, to inform me that she has been very much engaged and unable to come on board, and that to-morrow, being a fetish-day, she begged me to send her some gunpowder. I was told that the king and his people were going to fire guns all day and all night. This, it appears, is a fetish ceremony before signing the agreement to which we came, by mutual consent, a day or two ago.

In the opinion of these people, it is absolutely necessary to make fetish previous to undertaking the important ceremony of writing on paper, small pieces of which, containing passages from the Koran, written by the Mallams, are frequently to be met with: I therefore sent the queen six canisters of powder, for which she returned her gracious thanks. I had been engaged in an attempt to write out this agreement in the Houssa language; but owing to its being so barren, I was obliged to relinquish my object,

and did it in English, from which I might read it over, as nearly as the Houssa would allow.

I sent out the boat, with the carpenter Miller, to recruit him a little. The weather still foggy, with strong breezes from the eastward.

On Monday, 27th of January, I received a message from the king, desiring my attendance at the palace the next day, when a great number of Mallams and chiefs from the neighbourhood were to be present.

Early the following morning, the king sent to inquire after my health, and to inform me that he would send horses down to the landing-place when I was to go to him and settle the palaver. About 11 A. M. the horses arrived, and I went ashore, taking with me Jowdie as our drummer, with our union-jack and ensign on a staff, and six Kroomen, all of whom were armed.

The town presented a gay and lively appearance, every person being dressed in clean cloths and tobes. As we came to Abboka's house, a vast concourse of people were assembled before it. I sent him a present of some yellow soap, and then went in to see the old man. I found him better than he had been; which he attributed

to my medicine. He told me that his horse had escaped into the bush; on which I offered him mine, but he refused to accept it.

From the excessive heat of the weather and the pressure of the congregated natives, I felt extremely uncomfortable, and complaining to Abboka, he rose, and we both went out to enjoy some fresh air; which I did very much, reclining on a leopard skin under the refreshing shade of a majestic monkey bread-fruit tree. Here we remained until the horse was caught, while two slaves, with circular fans of buffalo-hide, kept constantly fanning us.

One of Abboka's wives having been quarrelling with the rest and creating a disturbance, he forbade her to enter the house. Al Hadge mentioned it to me and wished me to intercede for her, which I did, and Abboka, who is rather of an easy, yielding disposition, said he would forgive her for my sake. His horse being brought, he desired me to ride forward, and he would follow me. As I was leaving, the poor woman approached me and went on her knees to thank me for my intercession.

There were nearly fifteen thousand people assembled in the town. The corn-market was

very well filled, and we were saluted as we passed on by the women from all quarters, with "Senoo, senoo, con nee la fere?" (How do you do? are you quite well?)

At the interval of every three or four yards, the natives, both men and women, threw themselves on their knees and scattered sand over their heads in token of respect. As usual, we were conducted to the queen's or Dan Sullikeen's apartments;—Dan Sullikeen being the title of the queen or principal wife of Attah; but her name is Amagdoby,—at which name, whenever I address her, we always have a good laugh. Every time I saw her, she greeted me with inquiries as to how I slept; and this repeated in a serious tone by her and Abboka for about a dozen times, never failed to excite bursts of laughter from the Mallams, eunuchs, and others who were present. The queen had enlarged glands of the neck, which she requested me to examine and give her some maghony; which I promised to do.

After waiting some time, and partaking of some fofo and palm-oil, a eunuch announced the king to be waiting. We were then conducted to the presence of Attah.

The scene was extremely interesting. On the king's right hand sat one of his principal daughters, with her father's arm resting on her shoulder; while round the yard were seated about a hundred eunuchs, fifty Mallams of venerable appearance with white beards, and a number of chiefs and respectable natives from the neighbouring towns. On the king's left were five of his principal Mallams, two of whom had copies of the Koran marked with hieroglyphic characters of a pink colour on a dark ground.

After the usual salutations, the palaver, which I considered a very important one, was commenced by my telling him that an opportunity now offered for me to contradict publicly the false statements which had gone abroad; viz. that the white men had not come up the river for the purposes of trade, but to deprive the natives of their dwellings and take possession of the country. This I emphatically pronounced to be false, and assured the king that I was prepared to swear it by my faith, as I should expect him to pledge himself upon his to any agreement to be made between us.

I had drawn out two copies of an agreement on behalf of the African Inland Commercial

Company, the object of which was to ensure fair trade and friendship. On the part of Attah and his brother Abboka, it was stipulated that they were to supply us with provisions, and promise security to all horses, bullocks, sheep, goats, or ship's stores belonging to us that might be left on English Island.

On this being read, Attah addressed himself to the Mallams and chiefs, of whom there were a great number present, to the following purport: He was sure that the Mallams would coincide with him in his opinion, that the white men did not come with the view of depriving them of their towns; that they had done away with this unfavourable impression by the readiness they manifested in signing the books (meaning the written agreements). "And moreover," added the king, "Sullikeen Maghony has promised us protection against the Felatahs; and you know—at least most of you do—that Sullikeen Maghony and Baturee (Mr. Lander) promised to assist us against that unbelieving people."

I told him that I was still of the same determination; and to convince him of my sincerity, I would, when necessary, send a field-piece to the top of his observatory, which is the highest

building in the town, with four men to work it. The king was much pleased at this piece of intelligence, and spoke very highly in our favour, and of the advantages likely to result from the white men making Iddah a place for trade.

The Mallams then entered into a discussion which lasted a few minutes, each of them, as well as every other attendant, kneeling at the king's feet whenever they addressed him.

The discussion being concluded, I proceeded to sign my agreement, which was witnessed by Mr. Brown; after which, Attah, Abboka, and the head Mallam signed the one drawn out for them. While Abboka was swearing with one hand on the Koran and the other on the paper, he spoke to the following effect, with an energy of expression which I have seldom seen in an African:—"It was I who first brought white men into the country, and Allah forgive me if I did so for the purpose of injuring the king my brother or any of my countrymen! and if I have ever tried to induce the white men to attack my brother Attah in his town, kill me this moment—cut off my head! I also affirm, that I neither have done, nor ever will do the white men, who are strangers in our country, any injury whatever."

The head Mallam, who is the king's confidential adviser, signed his name in Arabic characters; — he was a fine venerable-looking old man, with a beard as white as the driven snow: and we had no sooner done, than the sound of music was heard, in the adjacent yard, of an extraordinarily wild, yet pleasing description.

I desired the king to send abundance of trade, —not one or two teeth, but plenty: on which he drily observed that I did not make good trade with his sister the last time she came.

These people are never satisfied. They wanted me to present them with the best and largest piece of cloth we had, and also a cap which some one had seen on the cabin table. There is nothing secure if any of Attah's people get a glimpse of an article which suits them.

I was now requested to see Cookooga, the king's head messenger, who was indisposed, or at least reported to be so. I thought that it was only a stratagem of the king's to see if I were friendly towards him, which he doubted.

This Cookooga had been on board with two of the king's daughters to visit the ship. After they had seen every part of her, they went to the quarter-deck, where chairs were offered them;

but they objected to the use of them, and preferred sitting on the deck with their legs crossed. A carpet was therefore brought out for their convenience; and Cookooga, on returning to the king, told him of the beautiful carpet he had seen on his visit. The king modestly asked me for this carpet, saying it was to be zany or cloth; and I, supposing it to be a tablecloth that the king meant, readily promised that he should have it. On Cookooga coming down to the vessel, I was astonished to see that he pointed out the carpet, which I was very unwilling to part with, and felt very angry with him for calling it a cloth: however, as I had promised the king should have it, I sent it, but requested Cookooga never to fancy anything else for his royal master. Since that time he had kept out of my sight until to-day, when he complained of headach, &c.

After seeing Cookooga, I joined the queen, and partook of some Goora nuts and palm-wine; after which I took my departure. On my passing through the yard, I witnessed a curious and novel procession, composed of about a hundred and fifty young girls, several of them the king's daughters, the remainder being the queen's

maids. They were dressed in a piece of white cotton fastened below the breasts, with holes cut in different parts of a diamond form, and resembling paper cut for a fire-grate: they were still singing their country songs. These of seven and eight years were quite naked, and only about twenty of the king's daughters wore cloths: it is customary for them to go in a state of nudity until they arrive at a marriageable age, which is about ten years and a half. The eldest appeared to be about nine or ten years of age. They carried two wooden figures of a male and female, one black and the other white; the white image being intended to represent the *dobo* or devil, and dressed in a most grotesque manner. They were singing a country song, and walked in lines of four or five abreast.

A little further on, beneath large tamarind and cotton trees, were the king's musicians. As I approached, they made way for my horse. I was highly delighted with the antics and performances of the king's fool. The band consisted of eight drummers, with drums made of tanned goat-skin, and four fifes formed of cane with a few holes bored in it. They played very wild, but by no means unpleasing airs, while the

jester, a short, broadfaced, large-mouthed, good-humoured-looking black, habited in a most capacious tobe, and bearing a staff as an emblem of authority, was performing all kinds of ludicrous antics: he spread out his wide tobe, and standing on one leg, with the other elevated almost as high as his head, twirled round like a top, at the same time emitting a sound resembling the whistle of a monkey. Everything bore an appearance of merriment and good-humour; and my own people, not even excepting Jowdie my drummer, joined in the dance.

I ordered a few thousand cowries to be given to the musicians for beer, and proceeded to the landing-place, having occasion to go on board. On my return on shore, an immense concourse of spectators had assembled to view the procession. The king presented me with fifty yams and two goats; the queen, with one. His majesty told me I might send for a bullock — as a remuneration, I suppose, for the carpet.

On the 29th of January, the carpenter was able to do a little duty. Sent the Kroomen away early to shoot a bullock: about noon they returned, having killed a fine cow.

Kings and princes in Africa are not ashamed

to beg and Abboka is one of them. I was frequently amused at the stratagems he employed to obtain a part of every bullock that I had killed. This morning one of his sons came down, bringing a large camel-skin bag, used as a bag for cowries. He came for some beef, with Abboka's respects, and requested me to send him the skin to be prepared for sitting and sleeping on. I gave him a fore quarter and the skin; but the youth remained on board until night, lest he should be seen with the beef.

The next day I despatched Jowdie to the queen, to inquire if she intended to honour us with a visit. She sent word that she would be down about noon, when the sun was at its greatest height. (The method adopted by these people for computing time is by the sun's height.) About noon she made her appearance, attended by her brother and a few eunuchs, but brought with her only a small quantity of ivory, which we purchased. A small tooth called a scrivelloe was offered us; but the queen would not accept the price we thought sufficient for it. She seemed surprised at my refusing to give what she demanded; but her surprise was increased when I told her that she might take the scrivelloe away.

She asked me if she was to take it back; to which I replied in the affirmative. "Oh! but," she said, "it is the king's ivory, and you ought to make good, very good trade, and give him most for ivory."

However, this would not do; and I invited her to take a little cold beef; but she disapproved of its being cooked in our fashion, and she was only induced to partake of a little when I had cut it into small pieces for her and mixed with it a quantity of Cayenne pepper. It was very amusing to see her awkward attempts to use a knife and fork.

When she found I would not give more than I had offered her for the ivory, she accepted it. Every time she paid us a visit, she was accompanied by five or six of the king's daughters and several eunuchs, all of whom, including herself, expected a present before returning.

There is really no end to giving presents to these people. Her mother and several eunuchs had accompanied her this morning; and although the latter had already received several presents, they still continued their visits in expectation of receiving more. Whatever presents either they or the king's daughters receive, are all given up

to the royal pair.—I presented the queen's mother with a large looking-glass.—After they had sat a short time, her majesty inquired if that was *all* I was going to give her mother? adding, that she was a very great woman. I was greatly mortified at her covetousness, and plainly told her, that when Mr. Lander came up the river he made both the king and queen very handsome presents; and that now we had come for the purpose of trading, and not making presents.

On the morning of the 31st January, several of the natives were perceived gazing attentively at something in the bush as if there was something there of which they were afraid. I sent ashore to see what was the matter, and was told that they were witnessing a battle between two snakes. I immediately went ashore, taking with me a double-barrelled fowling-piece; and on landing, saw two immense snakes of a darkish colour. They were, however, not fighting, and appeared to be secreting themselves: so, catching a glimpse of one, I fired at him, and completely divided him in two. I then looked for the other, and discovered the monster, with its bright eyes and projected fork: I fired at him, and severed the head from the body, which measured six feet ten

inches in length. Although I had the bush cleared away, I could neither find the other half of the first, nor the head of the second. The colour of the largest was finer than anything I had ever seen: it was of rich grassy green; about two feet from the tail it was speckled with dark velvet spots. The assembled natives gave a most hideous yell when they saw the two monsters killed; and an intelligent man, pointing to the sun, said that a person would die in six hours after being bitten by either of them.—One hundred pounds of ivory were purchased.

On the morning of the 1st of February, one of Abboka's slaves died from fever; and Abboka sent me an old broken decanter, which I was to replace with a sound one filled with rum! An old man brought a very large tooth, weighing one hundred pounds, for sale, which we purchased for about ten-pence per pound. I was very ill all day, but by the 2nd was somewhat better.

After prayers, Jeffry, the first fireman and acting engineer, behaved in a mutinous manner. He had formed an attachment with a native woman at Iddah: at his own request, I allowed him his clothes and sent him ashore.

He was a most notorious character, and was dismissed from the Columbine, of which vessel he was cook, and sent aboard the Quorra, where he conducted himself most disgracefully and was sent ashore by Mr. Laird.

On Monday, February 3rd, Johnson, the fireman, was ordered to get the vessel under weigh, that we might shift our anchorage a little lower down the river, as our present position was the bathing-place of both sexes of the natives, and extremely disagreeable. He got the steam up, and the engine worked very well. A great many persons assembled on the banks as soon as they perceived the smoke issuing from the chimney, and thinking we were about to depart, they went and informed the king.

While we were engaged in anchoring the vessel, I was surprised to see the queen come on board. She said, that her brother Attah sent his respects, and hoped I was not going, as he had given orders to his people to trade with us. She brought with her 1 cwt. 2 qrs. 22 lb. of ivory,—a greater quantity than ever she came with before. The cottons went off very well; indeed, had there been twenty cases, they would every one of them have been sold.

I was now in hopes that Mr. Lander would not be long absent, as almost all our stock of saleable commodities was exhausted. We were without red cloth and beads, our cottons were almost all sold, and we had no cowries, which are the best means of exchange. I purposed sending Mr. Brown, the clerk, to Iccory market (the Bocqua of Lander), with small wares to barter for cowries, and gave directions for the long-boat to be prepared for his journey. At 5 P. M. I gave Mr. Brown six hands and ammunition, and despatched him with goods, &c. to Iccory and Addacoodah.

In the course of the night we had one of the most severe hurricanes I ever witnessed. About 7. 30 P. M. I observed, for the first time this season, a great deal of lightning to the northward and eastward. At 10. 30 P. M. it began to blow and rain; and the latter, in a short time, came down in torrents; the awnings of the vessel were considerably rent by it; the vane from the foretop-mast head was carried away, and part of the roof of the house forward. So sudden and unexpected was this hurricane, that everything was completely drenched from the leakage of the quarter-deck. My books sustained consi-

derable injury. Several large trees and a great number of houses were blown down. Abboka's house fell whilst he was asleep, and almost suffocated him. I did not hear of any serious accident having happened; but this was evidently the prelude to a change of season, being the first rain we had had for four or five months.

On Friday, February 7th, I found that Dan Sullikeen had been making Ju-ju during the last three days, and that I was to expect her the next day. The sun overcast, and a very heavy dew throughout the day. Wind north-east.

According to promise, the queen came on board the next morning, and brought a very large tooth with her. A sword had been sent to the king as a pattern. Carpenter very weak, and incapable of doing duty.

On the 10th of February, a large tooth, the fellow to the last we purchased, was bought, weighing about ninety-nine pounds. I had also an opportunity of buying a very fine half-bred Arabian mare, which was brought to the vessel for sale: I gave two pieces of chintz, half a piece of cotton, and eight yards of yellow cloth for her. She had been brought down by the Felatah army to the Tchadda, where she was left

having been unable to proceed from exhaustion. She was, however, now in very excellent condition.

On the morning of the 12th, two messengers came on board from Iddah, and brought me a piece of intelligence which caused me considerable uneasiness. They stated, that as Mr. Lander, with two boats, was passing through the Little Eboe country, the natives fired upon them, took the two boats laden with goods and cowries, and obliged Mr. Lander to return to the salt water.

I immediately sent to Abboka, to inquire if he would allow a boy of mine (a cook on board) to go down in one of his canoes to Obie, then at Eboe, proceeding first to Accowarree market, to join the canoes of that king, and accompany them to Eboe, to inquire more particularly into the veracity of this intelligence, and the circumstances attending this unfortunate occurrence. Abboka sent word that he would make every inquiry through his people, and that it was quite unnecessary to despatch any messenger.

I entertained some idea of going down myself in the boat to the sea-side for more goods; but I considered that it would be most imprudent

in me to attempt to effect in one boat what it appeared that Mr. Lander had been unable to achieve with two, and that I should certainly be stopped and plundered. Moreover, I had only two black men on board who could speak English, and no person to leave with the vessel.

From the 12th of February to the 20th, I was very ill, and confined to my mat on the quarter-deck; but I was now convalescent. About dusk last evening I was disturbed by some of Abboka's canoes passing the vessel, with the remains of six warriors who were killed during the seven years' war with his brother Attah. It appeared that they had been disinterred at Damuggoo, and were to be again buried before Abboka's house at Iddah, after some fetish ceremonies had been performed over them.

On the 26th of February, the long-boat with Mr. Brown returned from Addacoodah, he having sold goods to the amount of thirty-one thousand cowries. The Addacoodah people and Iccory traders sent by him to request me to pay them a visit, as they were anxious to traffic.

During the last few days Abboka was making Ju-ju, in consequence of which twelve of his sons, who trade to the Iccory market, remained at

home to assist in the ceremonies. It is almost impossible to obtain any rest during the night, in consequence of the firing of muskets, the singing of the women, and the noise of the drums and Ju-ju horns.

On the 28th of February, Abboka sent to request that I would allow some men to go and fire before his house, as it was the last day of the fetish ceremonies. In compliance with his wishes, I sent eight men with blank cartridges.

This morning I visited Abboka and the king. To the latter I presented a strong, substantial, well-built chair, which the carpenter had made: it was lined with yellow velvet, and ornamented with brass nails. The king was highly delighted with it, and requested me to assist him into it. He wore a velvet tobe of three or four different colours, and made from a scarlet tobe of mine, which he was anxious I should give him. He appeared much pleased with his present, and frequently, to my great amusement, exclaimed, "Thank God, I have seen a white man! and it affords me the greatest pleasure; for my father, and his before him, never saw a white man in all their lives."

The next morning, Cookooga came on board,

with two prisoners from the king, with a request that I would take charge of them until the next market-day, as he was apprehensive, if he kept them on shore, that they would effect their escape. I was much amused at this specious pretext, as I thought it was done to let the people see what influence he possessed on board the white men's ship. However, the prisoners were received, and a watch placed over them, as I considered it right to keep on good terms with Attah.

I was told by the messenger, that one of the king's daughters, a fine young woman, who used frequently to visit us, had been accidentally shot a few days before. The man who was the unintentional cause of her death was condemned to be beheaded, and his head might now be seen, with seven or eight skulls, on a Ju-ju bank near the king's residence.

I was also informed that the Felatahs had commenced their marauding excursions, and had already left Rabbah; that the natives of Kacundah, or Ibbodo, had abandoned their towns, and had erected temporary huts on sandbanks. The death of the King of Fundah was confidently reported, and Attah sent to inquire what Mr. Laird would do now to obtain the cowries for the goods

of which he defrauded him; and I returned as an answer, that he would shortly come and destroy the town unless the account were settled.

On the 3rd of March, an account of another cruel and tyrannical act of Attah's reached me. A fine boy, about twelve years old, and belonging to one of the market-canoes, when on board the Alburkah had picked up two or three little pieces of velvet, about an inch and a half long. After making them into a bag, he put some seeds into it, and, according to custom, wore it round his loins as a charm to protect him from danger. The king being informed of the circumstance, sent for the lad into his presence, and asked him what reason he had to wear king's cloth, and thus conspire against his life? A well-known signal was immediately given, and the poor fellow's head was immediately cut off and thrown on the fetish bank, while the headless trunk was thrown into the Niger.

I was now anxiously awaiting the setting in of the rainy season, as it would enable us to ascend higher up the river and attend the Iccory market. We were obliged to depend here on the caprice of the king for provisions, as there were no traders who kept a supply by them. Some-

times we fed upon the best food and in plenty, and often upon one meal a-day.

During the last week, a house made of bamboo and mats had been erected on the quarter-deck, which was much cooler in consequence. The carpenter still continued very weak, but had commenced caulking the quarter-deck. I sent a message of condolence to the king on the loss of his daughter, and four canisters of powder for fetish offerings.

This was a day appointed by the king for me to visit him; but feeling indisposed, I sent a messenger to excuse my non-attendance. The king, queen, and other members of the royal family were in mourning, which, according to the custom of the country, consists in wearing a small piece of cotton round the neck and each wrist, every armlet and other ornament being entirely laid aside. Sometimes a piece of string, made from cotton, is worn round the ankle. The forehead is besmeared with wood ashes and clay water, which is allowed to dry on. They likewise powder their heads with wood ashes.

The prisoners entrusted to my care a few days ago by the king were still on board; but our supply of yams had been very irregular, and our

stock had now been exhausted several days, and we were at this time (7th of March) living on rice.

Our friend Abboka had not sent any message, nor had we heard anything else lately; which evinced great neglect, for large presents had been sent ashore. He seemed to be, and indeed was, very friendly; but I began to apprehend that he wanted more presents, or had some other object in view.

Iddah is a very bad place for procuring a supply of provisions, all of them having to come through the medium of the Iccory market, where the greatest abundance is to be met with. They are brought there by the Ibbodo people; no person at Iddah, not even the king himself, keeping any stock except bullocks. I was very anxious to get up to Iccory market, as our small wares would there sell for cowries.

I learned to-day that the intelligence I had received respecting the attack upon Mr. Lander, was correct, but had no further particulars.

Although there was plenty of ivory passing down the river every day, no purchases had been made throughout the last week, owing to our being destitute of cottons, cowries, red cloth, and beads.

I learned that the Ibbodo natives had attended the last Iccory market, being the first they have for nearly two moons, in consequence of a war between them and the natives of a town near Cuttum-Curaffee, which arose from a dispute between a pullaboy and one of the Ibbodo people. This boy had bought some spice-balls from a woman at the town near Cuttum-Curaffee, and would not pay the price for them; on which the husband of the woman who sold them determined to be revenged; for which purpose he assembled some of his friends, and on the Ibbodo canoes coming down, attacked them, and killed two of the people. Thus a war commenced, and promised to last some time; several lives had been lost, and all in consequence of a dispute about four cowries,—four shells! The spice-balls are made of pounded Dower corn, or flour and Cayenne pepper, baked on a stone over the fire.

A new house was built to-day over the forecastle; but being short of mats we were unable to complete it. The carpenter was again indisposed.

At 8 P.M. of the 8th March, Al Hadge and Muzza, two of Abboka's head slaves, came on

board and said they had something very important to communicate to me. I desired them to state what it was, when they made the following communication:—The slave of a man named Gabbreducco had been to Abboka, and declared that he had accompanied his master to the King of Iddah two nights before, and that Gabbreducco went there for the purpose of persuading the king to declare war with me and my people, with an intent to kill us and plunder the vessel: that Attah having refused to accede to this proposal, Gabbreducco said, "If you don't, I will raise the whole town and my own people." Attah then said, "Let me send for Abboka:" but Gabbreducco interrupted him, saying, "No, no; if you do so, Baturee (white man) will know it."

The slaves further stated, that as Attah had not sent for Abboka, they had taken the earliest opportunity of letting me know. The old man enjoined me not to allow any canoe to come alongside; and if any arrived with ivory, to make them stay outside of the vessel: and moreover, that no native should be admitted on deck, as in an unguarded moment I might receive a stab from a knife. It was the intention of Gabbreducco first to kill me, and then to plunder the

vessel: that this same individual applied some time ago to the king for the same purpose, at the period I went up to Attah in the canoe. The king refused, and Abboka, I remember, stated that he himself had come down for the express purpose of remaining near me, and that had he not been on board, Gabbreducco would have attacked me.

I was further told, that the first time we ran aground, on the 7th December, off the town above Eboe, the natives of which plundered Mr. Lander, Gabbreducco with two of his wives came on board. I now perfectly recollected him and his boys, upwards of sixty in number, in a very large canoe. When they came on board, the quarter-deck was so crowded, that I ordered it to be cleared three or four times. The reason of such a number being on board, was because their assistance was required in getting up the anchor, the windlass having been broken off Bonny. Each of the men wore knives (a circumstance I remember remarking to the mate, the late Mr. Huntington); and these fellows had come with the determination of murdering me and my crew, who are since dead, and afterwards of plundering the vessel!

Abboka had desired the messenger to tell me "that if any attack was made upon the vessel, they must first kill him; for that he was the first who brought white man into the country, and as long as he lived, he was determined to protect me; but that when he died, I must look to myself and the ship:—that he had now delivered out twelve muskets, and requested Al Hadge to ask me for a few flints: that he would inform me when Gabbreducco intended to attack us, and then assembling all the natives of English Island, that he would give the king's people battle."

This Gabbreducco is the king's head man, as the natives observe, and holds the bridle of his majesty's horse when he mounts, which is considered a great honour. He is a native of Eboe, and consequently a man who may be justly suspected of every villany. He has four canoes, and is the king's chief man in war. His appearance is nothing in his favour; he is stout-built, and stands nearly, if not quite six feet high: thick lips, and a frowning ferocious aspect, with cataract of the left eye. He wore three tobes at the time I saw him near Eboe.

The above intelligence was anything but agreeable to me; though, as far as an attack from the

king or Gabbreducco, I was not apprehensive of that, being well aware that the greatest injury they could inflict on me would be to cut off my provisions. Of yams we stood greatly in need, having an allowance of half a pound with four ounces of rice for dinner. I sent for the woman who traded for us, and ordered her to go to market and purchase all the rice and yams she could meet with: she returned, after having purchased a few bags of rice, and thirty or forty very small yams.

As Abboka had warned me not to comply with an invitation to the king, on the following day, I requested Mr. Brown to go to him, and make further inquiries into this scheme against us, and to ascertain whether Abboka was deceived himself, or deceiving me. This I could not believe; for, although he was not liberal in his presents, which might probably arise from his poverty, he had always behaved as our best friend.

On Mr. Brown's return, he stated, that Abboka, having placed his two fetishes before him, had solemnly confirmed the statement he had already made, and added moreover, that the Eboe people were preparing to plunder the

vessel on her way down to the sea-side, and that Obie himself had taken a part in plundering Mr. Lander and the canoes which were coming up the river laden with cowries, &c. and that Attah had refused to comply with Gabbreducco's wishes, saying that he had put his hand to paper never to do anything to the injury of the vessel. Had he not done this, Abboka is of opinion that he would immediately have acceded to the proposal, and attacked us; but that he had neither summoned his eunuchs and council, nor made Abboka acquainted with it. He also added, that he thought the king might yield on being much importuned; and requested Mr. Brown to caution me to be on my guard, and when sent for by the king not on any account to go, or go ashore, as that was the only means he had of murdering me and my people.

I felt very thankful to my friend Abboka for this advice, and lost no time in putting the vessel in a state of defence, and of drilling the men. The guns and muskets were cleaned and examined, and each man stationed at his gun. I divided the crew into three watches, five men in each, two of whom I stationed forward on the

bows, one at each gangway, and one at the poop. The first night-watch I kept myself with four others, and was determined to make a good resistance in case of an attack, having, besides a few lives, upwards of 17 cwt. of ivory on board, and some other goods at my disposal.

CHAPTER XVII.

Friendly Behaviour of Abboka, the Brother of Attah.—Message to the King.—Difficulty in obtaining Provisions.—Visit from the Queen.—Demand for Slaves at the Market.—The River commences swelling.—Funeral Procession.—Felatahs' Rapacity.—Rainy Season commences.—Letter from Richard Lander, relating the Attack on him by the Natives.—Superstition of the King's Brother.—Determine to proceed up the River.

SUNDAY, March 9th, I sent word by a messenger, a native named Muzza, that I was desirous of seeing Abboka as soon as he could come to me; and I had his promise in return, that he would come as soon as he could do so unobserved. At the same time I purchased from his sons 2 cwt. 1 qr. 8 lb. of ivory; a greater quantity than ever I purchased before in a single day.

On Thursday, March 13th, at 6 A. M. a messenger arrived to say that Abboka was on his way down to the ship. I sent a boat ashore for him, which brought him on board, and he ap-

peared very glad indeed to see me. After taking off his tobes, charms, &c. I invited him down into the cabin, where at his own request he made oath on the edge of a sword, and an Arabic Bible,* that he, together with the king and Mallam, had signed an agreement to protect the ship, and that having heard that Gabbreducco intended to attack us, he immediately apprised me of it. Gabbreducco, he said, had been to the king three times, endeavouring to induce him to give his consent, and make war upon us in order to obtain possession of the vessel and plunder her.

The king had kept this villanous design of Gabbreducco a profound secret from Abboka, who observed to me, with much earnestness, "When the palaver is with you, the palaver is likewise with me, since it was I who first brought white man into the country. When my head is cut off, then you must take care of your own; but whilst I am alive, I will be answerable for any injury to you."

Such friendly conversation was really gratify-

* A large number of copies of the Old and New Testament, in Arabic, were taken out and presented to the kings, chiefs, and head Mallams.

ing, and naturally obtained him my regard. I asked him his opinion respecting my sending a messenger to the king; which he advised me to do, and to send by him a little gun powder to discharge over his son, who had been killed with a poisoned arrow by the natives near to Ibbodo. This was the young prince who came up with us from Atchimaree when Abboka was on board, and the same person who willingly stripped himself of his tobes and charms, and went up to the middle in water to assist in getting the vessel off the sandbank. Poor fellow! I thought him worthy of a better fate.

It was agreed the messenger should say, that I had looked into the book, and found that Gabbreducco had been to the king, and had made wicked proposals to him, which he had kept secret from Abboka, and that he had acted wrong in concealing from him bad intentions. As I had not a person on board I considered more adapted for this undertaking than Mr. Brown, I instructed him in what he was to say, and directed him to go in the morning.

Abboka wished me *to poison Gabbreducco,* saying that *if I did so* he could then do me no injury; but I told him that it was against the laws

of my country, and that Allah (God) would punish me for it. He then asked me to give him some poison; but I refused, as I knew the purpose for which he wanted it. He next requested me to give him some to kill the vermin in his head, which I did and saw it applied. A little time after this delightful operation was concluded, he took his departure. I made him a present of two half-barrels of powder, which he promised to use, if necessary, in our defence, and also that he would send me some arrows for the use of my black men.

Friday, March 14th.—This morning I despatched Mr. Brown to the king, and desired him to present him with the powder, and to say that I had been informed of Gabbreducco's attempts to induce him to make war upon me and plunder the vessel: that I could not believe, after signing the agreement for mutual protection and peace, he would be the first to break it; and that after swearing on the Koran, it was highly criminal in him to conceal from us his knowledge of such a project. I likewise desired him to tell the king, that if such a disgraceful attack was really intended, I was quite prepared for them either by day or night, and, as well as my men,

who would die rather than yield, was determined to fight the guns to the very last. I told him to show every respect to the king, but to be firm and resolute, and to bring me back a correct account.

On his return, Mr. Brown stated that the king came into the room where he was, dressed in nothing but a country cloth. When Mr. Brown delivered his message, he flatly denied the truth of any conspiracy, and would have sent for Gabbreducco, but was interrupted by Mr. B. who said he came to see him, and not Gabbreducco. But soon afterwards that individual entering, the king said, "Gabbreducco, Sullikeen Maghony says that you want me to make war with him." Gabbreducco laughed and hung down his head; but the king said, that he must come and swear to me and take maghony (poison) to convince me of his innocence; which Mr. Brown dissuaded him from, saying that the captain would shoot him if he saw him! His majesty evinced greater cordiality than usual to Mr. Brown: he sent a present of a scrivelloe of ten pounds weight to me.

I was still perplexed as to the truth of this affair of Abboka. Whether the statement were true or

not, (and what had I heard or seen to cause me to disbelieve it?) it was right in me to be prepared. At first I certainly suspected that it might be a fabrication to induce me to make him more considerable presents: he thought the chair was too handsome for the king, and that he ought to have something valuable as well. My opinion was much in favour of Abboka, whom I considered a strictly honest man, and his behaviour to the Messrs. Lander on the way down in their canoe raised him much in my estimation, and, indeed, deserves the commendation of every true friend of humanity. However, I prepared for the worst; and if I had fallen, I trusted that my papers, journals, &c. would reach the hands of my employers, that they might see in what manner I had executed my trust.

A red cap was found among the yams in the forecastle, and must have been put there the day before. A box containing red caps was sent two or three days previously, of which I had the key, and no person could have unlocked it but the steward, as he alone had admittance into the forecastle. Under these circumstances, I discharged him from the cabin, and sent him forward with the rest of the Kroomen.—For the last few

days the yams had been kept in the cabin; but it was now impossible to keep them there, on account of the black ants.

At 4 A. M. on 15th March, Abboka's messenger, according to his master's promise, brought down a basket of poisoned arrows, ninety-seven in number; and at breakfast we received fifteen yams from the same individual. This was a very seasonable supply, as I was saving the rice, and we were upon an allowance of two pounds of yams for dinner, the only meal we had in twenty-four hours.

The carving knife belonging to the cabin was this afternoon missed from the knife-box in an extraordinary manner, and nothing whatever could be heard of it. All these pilfering acts committed by my blacks annoyed me exceedingly.

A messenger came on board in the course of the evening, with a message from Abboka, cautioning me to be upon my guard, as Gabbreducco was making a maghony to render himself invulnerable, and prevent the balls from our guns taking effect! and that he was now near Abboka's, and said that he wanted to break this ship. His people to the number of four hundred and fifty were assembled around him, armed with spears, bows, arrows, and muskets.

Early on the morning of the 17th, I was surprised to see the queen at the landing-place, accompanied by several persons, among whom I noticed the head Mallam, several eunuchs, and four of her maids of honour, in mourning. She came in a canoe, appeared very civil, and brought some yams as a present, and told us that Abboka was coming down and would be on board presently. In about half an hour he arrived at the landing-place, and I sent a boat ashore to bring him on board.

The queen seemed reserved, and appeared to have much to say, but did not know how to commence; but at last she said, with respect to Gabreducco, that she would swear that she knew nothing whatever of his going to the king her brother to induce him to make an attack upon the ship. She asked several times for the Book of Common Prayer (or our Allah's book); but I told her that I believed that she was ignorant of the matter, and that an affair of such importance, and of a nature so disgraceful, would never have been intrusted to her; and moreover, that after what I had heard, I could place no more confidence in their oaths, when the king had broken the oath made by him, the Mallam, and Abboka on their own book the Koran, as

well as upon my Prayer-Book. I likewise told her that it was the duty of the king when such a proposal was made to him by Gabbreducco, to have secured him and sent him to me, and I would have punished him: that the king had not sent any yams or messengers as he was wont to do, which I looked upon as neglectful and inattentive; and that when Gabbreducco should come with his canoes to make his intended attack, I would set fire to Iddah and all the towns around it (at the same time pointing up to the towns). Moreover, I told her that if anything happened to the vessel, a man-of-war would come and destroy all the territories of Attah: that I was quite prepared, and come when he would, he should meet with a warm reception.

The queen told me, that Attah was very angry with Gabbreducco for making war Ju-ju so soon after her brother's death.

The Mallam assured me that the king entrusted him with all secrets, and he had heard nothing of the intentions of Gabbreducco; that he was the king's slave, and could not carry on such designs without the assistance of the king's people. I told him, that after signing the agreement with the king, to attempt any

thing of the kind against me, who had made them such valuable presents, and had been on terms of such intimacy with them, was the most enormous crime they could possibly commit. With respect to the Mallams, I had always considered them as a body of respectable and intelligent men; but when I saw one so aged violate the agreement without remonstrating with the king against such treachery, I did not think that there was a good and upright man in the whole country.

The queen told me that she had brought a tooth for sale; but I told her that the goods were at the bottom of the ship, and I could not trade then.

Abboka said that the queen and he were both hungry, and I therefore provided some goat's flesh and some yams, and they went into the cabin, where Abboka pointed out the immense quantity of canister-shot, which was purposely ranged on the table, and certainly had a formidable appearance, at which the queen appeared afraid, but nevertheless made a very hearty meal.

Abboka still maintained that the report respecting Gabbreducco was true, and if he did not oppose his designs he must die, at the same time

putting a sword to his throat.* He had promised, he said, to protect the white men, and he most certainly would do so.

The queen and her retinue remained a considerable time on board; and on their departure, Abboka desired me to fire a few guns, which I immediately complied with. The queen was very much alarmed, and at the same time very friendly. She refused to drink any rum unless assured of my friendship. She gave me the pleasing intelligence that there had been rain in a village near Iddah. During the last week the weather had been duller than usual, and I believe there had been rain among the Kong mountains, which are plainly discernible from our anchorage.

On Tuesday, March 18th, the carpenter was again convalescent, and engaged in mounting two one-pound swivels, one at each gangway.

In the morning of the next day the queen came on board, bringing with her two teeth weighing fifty pounds. I found great difficulty

* Placing a naked sword or knife to the throat, is looked upon as the strongest proof of innocence, and the most solemn form of oath they can administer. In this manner the king is sworn; or, sometimes, on the point of a poisoned arrow.

n making a bargain with her, on account of her exorbitant demands. She brought me some eggs (all bad ones), onions, and yams from the king: in return for which, I presented each of them with a small looking-glass in a gilt frame. Not a word was uttered respecting Gabbreducco. One of the eunuchs having a wound in the leg from a poisoned arrow, the queen wished me to examine it: I did so, and dressed it for him. She took breakfast with us, and promised to come in the course of two days.

The next day, I had an attack of intermittent fever; and Wilson, one of the Kroomen, having neglected his duty and shown contempt of orders during his watch at night, I considered it right to place him in irons.

The queen, on her last visit, (the 19th,) had promised to return in a couple of days: it was now the 27th, and she had not made her appearance.

On the 22nd, the king sent me a present of some onions and yams, and requested me to give up the prisoners who were sent on board about four weeks ago. At the same time, a fine-looking man came from Abboka, stating that he was one of the old man's prisoners, and had been sent on board for security. I had some suspi-

cions of him, and desired the interpreter to send Muzza on board. I suspected that this man might be employed by the king to come on board with some bad design. However, I had him placed in irons, and sent into the engine-room out of sight.

Some canoes that went to market on the 22nd were filled with slaves, principally men. The two prisoners I had had on board were sent by them to the Eboe market. I could not help feeling for them, and had only taken charge of them from political motives. It appears that their fault was very trifling. A canoe of the king's was passing the town in which they resided, in need of more hands, and these two men were selected by the chief to supply the deficiency. While engaged in getting on a cloth or something of that nature, the canoes departed without them. At the desire of the king, the poor fellows were seized and carried before him, sent on board the Alburkah, and were now at the market.

Six persons, I am told, have been executed in as many weeks. It appears that there was a great demand for slaves at Eboe market at this time, and this ill-gotten wealth has been distri-

buted among the Iddah traders. For some time back, I had frequently been told that the cowries brought from Eboe market are those taken from Mr. Lander; and it was rumoured that the natives who plundered that gentleman belong to a town named Hyammah, lying on the other side of Eboe. I had also been informed, and I have no reason to doubt the statement, that King Obie had had dealings with the plunderers, and shared in the booty. On the last visit but one that I paid the king, he informed me that Obie actually planned the robbery! The town of Hyammah, I am told, is very large, and the natives have canoes on a very large scale.

I received information that the natives of Eboe were preparing to attack and plunder the Alburkah on her way down the river; and my informer advised me, as soon as the river was high enough, to get under weigh, without acquainting any one with my intention, or that it was the wish of Abboka and his sons;—that I should reach the sea-side in safety; and that when the ship came up the river a third time, she should have *more men*. It was a source of satisfaction to find that, owing to the rains up the country, the river began to rise about

Saturday, March 22nd, since which time it had increased about two inches. A few drops of rain that fell this morning was all that we had at Iddah. From absolute *measurement* with a line, I found that the difference in the level of the water in the course of the year was nearly sixty feet.

I ardently wished for the commencement of the rains, that I might quit this place; as, independent of the shameful and treacherous conduct of Attah, I was doing little or no trade, in consequence of having neither goods nor cowries. More than two hundred and sixty pounds of fine ivory had been brought for sale within the last few days, but for want of cowries I could not purchase them. Our stock of goods was almost exhausted; and what few articles remained, it was necessary should be taken to Iccory market for cowries in exchange. I endeavoured to dispose of some salt, but without success, as the natives would not take it. I could not purchase ivory without either cowries or cloth,—and cloth such as the palm-oil vessels bring out would answer as well as the pieces of muslin at sixteen shillings per piece. I saw the cloth that the Iddah traders obtained from the Eboe people: it is a very secondary article,

named on the coast "white bast:" it is much inferior to the description of calico used in hospitals and dispensaries for bandages. There appears a great demand for red cloth and red beads. Nearly all the yellow cloth that I brought up with me, and which Mr. Lander and I despaired of disposing of, was expended. I have likewise sold powder, guns, and other articles, which were refused when we were up the river before.

It is not surprising that the traders should take away their ivory, as I am informed there never was such a stock of cowries seen at Eboe market. These little shells, which form the current coin of this country, are brought by vessels to the coast near to Popo; they are never rejected by these people, and one of their ways of preserving them is by burying them in the ground in bags containing twenty, thirty, and fifty thousand each. Notwithstanding the exorbitant demands of the traders, I have been enabled to get this article at about eleven-pence and one shilling per pound. Allowances must be made for the disadvantageous nature of the goods, the opposition of the Eboe traders with the cowries, and the want of the most essential articles of trade.

Yesterday there was a procession of the wives

of the late son of the king, whose willingness to assist us and whose death I have already alluded to. The women came down to the water-side to wash, following each other singly to the number of twenty-nine, and dressed in blue cloths, with pieces of cotton round the neck, wrists, and ankles. They raised a most lugubrious cry, and proceeded to drink poison, from a belief that they had wished their husband's death. Their superstition leads them to believe that if they were guilty, the poison would kill them; but if innocent, that it will prove harmless. Out of sixty of these poor infatuated wretches, thirty-one of them died; while others who vomited immediately escaped death, but were of course very ill from the effects of the inflammation. Such superstition has no doubt prevailed in most countries where darkness has obscured the mind of mankind. Our own country has been no exception; and old women suspected of sorcery being bound hand and foot, and thrown into a pond or canal, is about as bad as administering poison. If they floated (a thing morally impossible), they were deemed innocent; but if they disappeared, they were considered guilty.

In the course of the night, lately, two canoes

glided cautiously by the vessel, and about an hour afterwards a noise was heard, apparently about a mile below our anchorage, like the beat of a drum, and singing. The crew were immediately summoned on deck, and mustered at the guns; when, soon after, we perceived two canoes cross the river, and disappear under the grass on the high banks. They then passed the vessel; and I watched them proceeding up a creek about sixteen hundred yards from us, which leads to the king's houses at Iddah. They afterwards returned to a sandbank above the vessel, and their movements gave us considerable uneasiness: the late reports of the intentions of Gabbreducco, and the uncertain nature of these people, led us to expect nothing more or less than an attack at a time when they might suppose we were least prepared for them. I afterwards learnt that the canoes contained some of the king's eunuchs, who were engaged at the time in making Ju-ju. This I have no doubt they did with the idea of preventing the vessel from passing that part of the river, which is very shallow, and where, owing to an abrupt turn of the land, the current is very strong. These poor creatures believe that an evil spirit (Doboh) exists in this place, where we

ran aground in coming up. They are aware that the water is now beginning to rise, and no doubt expect that when there is sufficient we shall depart; to prevent which they make their Ju-ju.

The calking of the quarter-deck was now completed, and it had been washed with the hose and forcing-pump. The rigging was in a very bad state, some of it indeed completely destroyed. The goods were all stowed away below, the decks clear, and the guns, nine in number, ready and double-shotted. Mr. Brown, a native of Cape Coast Castle, and who has been frequently mentioned in this journal, had formerly been adjutant in the Cape Coast Militia, and by his assistance we had drilled our men to military discipline, and trained them to the use of small arms, as well as to man the guns.

I learnt at this time, 28th March, that the Felatahs were still about Egga and Kacundah, levying contributions on the terrified natives. Their treatment of their unhappy victims, and their method of proceeding with them, is certainly very cruel. A Felatah will address one of the natives with "You must give me some thousands of cowries:" if the person they are demanded of

has them, he complies immediately. Presently another Felatah addresses him in the same manner; and to prevent being carried away as a slave, he pays down his last cowrie, and then considers himself fortunate if he remains secure from further rapacity. But his expectations are vain, and his security only temporary. In a few days or a week more, a demand is again made upon him; and when he expresses his utter inability to produce a single cowrie, his condescending plunderer will say, "Oh, a cloth or tobe (rega) will do as well, or anything else you may possess." If the unfortunate native cannot produce either of them, the chances are, that he will be secured, and sent on board a Zagoshie canoe, by which he is transported to Rabbah, where with hundreds of poor creatures equally unfortunate, he is exposed for sale.

In coming suddenly upon a town, the Felatahs inflict the most cruel tortures upon the more wealthy inhabitants to compel them to discover their property. This horde of barbarians set fire to almost every city, town, or village which they visit in their predatory excursions.

The only little bustle that broke the monotonous sameness of the scene at our anchorage was

on a market-day: at other times it was dull and uninteresting, particularly when the rainy season was commencing. On the 28th March the first heavy rain that we had took place, when it came down very heavily for five hours.

In order to secure the friendship of the traders, who dealt with me, I presented four or five of the most powerful (principally Abboka's sons) with pennants of different coloured bunting, about two yards long, for their canoes, and by this means they were easily distinguishable. About noon the canoes were seen rounding the point, and presently they paddled alongside the Alburkah. One of Abboka's sons gave me some dried fish, and informed me that Hadgeegoo had a paper for me from Mr. Lander. This was so sudden and unexpected, that it would be utterly beyond my power to describe my sensations at the intelligence. In about half an hour I had the pleasure, however, of receiving a letter from that gentleman, of which the following is a copy.

"River Nun, Jan. 22nd, 1834.

"DEAR SIR,

"Having an opportunity of writing to you by King Boy, who will give it to King

Obie to forward to you, I avail myself of it. I was coming up to you with a cargo of cowries and dry goods worth four hundred and fifty pounds, when I was attacked from all quarters by the natives of Hyammah, off the fourth island from Sunday Island.* The shot were very numerous both from the island and shore. Mrs. Brown and child were taken prisoners, whom I was bringing up to her husband, as well Robert the boy. I have advanced King Boy money to go and purchase them; and the vessel will call here immediately, as I am going to Fernando Po to get the people's wounds attended to.

"We had three men shot dead;—Thompson,† second mate of the cutter, one Krooman, and one Cape Coast man. I am wounded, but I hope not dangerously, the ball having entered

* Eighty-four miles from the Nun.

† This man was a native of Sweden, and was second mate on board the cutter sent out with supplies. I learnt afterward, that in this skirmish he behaved badly, lying down at the bottom of the boat, refusing to fight. When the firing had somewhat abated, he ventured to peep at what was going forward, and raising his head above the gunwale of the boat for this purpose, a native levelled his musket at him; the ball pierced the brain, and he instantly expired.

close to the anus and struck the thigh-bone: it is not extracted yet. Thomas Oxford is wounded in the groin; two Kroomen wounded dangerously, and one slightly. I am sorry to say, I lost all my papers, and everything belonging to to me, the boat and one canoe; having escaped in one of the canoes barely with a coat to our backs, they chasing us in their war-canoes, and all our cartridges being wet, so that we could not keep them off. They attacked us at 3 P. M. on the 20th January, and left us at eight at night. We pulled all night, and reached the cutter on the 21st. We are now under weigh for Fernando Po.

"I remain,

"Your most affectionate friend,

(Signed,) "R. L. LANDER."

"To Surgeon Oldfield,
Alburkah Steamer, River Niger."

I was rejoiced to learn that the wound Mr. Lander had received was not dangerous. I was now convinced that the goods and cowries in circulation amongst the natives were those taken from Mr. Lander. I was much amused at the surprise of Abboka's sons, who could not conceive how, by looking at this letter, I should

discover all the particulars of the robbery. Hadgeegoo wished to take it to Abboka first, and it was with great difficulty that I could prevail upon him to give it me at all: I could scarcely persuade him that Abboka had nothing to do with it, and that he could not even read it, but that it was intended for me.

It was the 29th of March, and I ventured to hope that Mr. Lander would now be quite recovered. I continued exercising the men at the guns, and keeping a strict watch at night, every man on board being constantly armed. The natives were well aware of this, which I did not regret: the watch calling out every half hour, gave them sufficient notice that we were prepared for them. The bell was likewise struck at similar intervals, very loud, that they might hear it as far as possible. Indeed, this had already been noticed; and one of Abboka's sons, Edennah, said to me, "Sullikeen Maghony never sleeps."

Since the affray with Mr. Lander has been known in this part of the country, and the amount of cowries that were seized, I have observed a wish among the natives, especially in Attah, to obtain all the goods on board.

It was no doubt to accomplish this, that I was invited by the king to go to him; but I was happily informed by Abboka of his wicked designs. It was his intention to have murdered me and the people I had with me; and afterwards the Alburkah was to have been plundered. The cowries, the beautiful white cowries of the white men, are the admiration of all the natives, who wonder where they come from: and the Mallams collect every one they can for curiosities, and with the same avidity as persons in England seek after new coins when they are first issued by the Mint.

On March 30th, which was Easter Sunday, the river appeared to have risen two inches during the preceding week.

On the 2nd April, Abboka came on board, telling me that he had sent a message to the king to inform him how very wrong he had acted in not sending us yams or anything to eat, and in not letting any one come to us. I told him and Al Hadge that I did not want to see any of them; that if I were ill, I would let them know; and if the king would send a bullock along with their message, &c. it would be more acceptable.

I was inclined to think that Abboka came on

board in order to obtain a present; but I told him I had made very little trade, and that when I went down I would give him something, for that then I could not afford it. We were still short of provisions, and living upon one pound of yams per day.

My friend Abboka, like most of his countrymen, places great confidence in charms, and is literally covered with them. A few days ago he asked me for one that would have the power of preventing sickness, and of rendering his enemies powerless. Although I disliked the thought of perpetuating such error, I knew that I could not remove it, and therefore considered it best to comply with his desire: I also gave him a watch-paper, which I took out of my watch and presented to him. This morning he showed me a piece of leather in which he had enclosed the watch-paper; and in order that he might wear it night and day, he had placed it on his forehead, secured by two leather strings at the back part of the head.

The king's head man came on board the next day, telling me to send the Kroomen on shore to kill a bullock the following morning. I was a little incredulous at first, but he assured me that it was true, and that the queen would be on

board at the same time. I considered the visit from her as certain, in order to obtain something in return for the bullock; and I attributed this good fortune to Abboka's representations and remonstrances.

The following morning the queen arrived, bringing two teeth with her, one of which was broken. I offered half a barrel of powder, a gun, a brass sword, and some yellow cloth for them; which she indignantly refused, and told Al Hadge, when she was going away, that there were more natives on board who understood English, and who had told me what sort of goods and what quantity to offer her.

I had some beef cooked for her and her attendants, as I usually had some food or other ready for her when she honoured us with a visit. I sent a large looking-glass to the king, and gave her a small gilt one; but she seemed dissatisfied, and evidently wanted more.

The king had shown himself to be a bad, cunning, and designing man in trying if possible to take possession of the ship. This thought rendered me very anxious; and if I had had more white men on board, I should not have felt so uneasy. By way of trying his faith once more, I

despatched Muzza to him to say that I was in great want of cowries, and with a request that he would either return the sword, umbrella, and beads, or their value in sixty-five thousand cowries. To this request, however, he sent word that the queen would settle it when she came on board. If I asked her about it, she would tell me that she would see the king about it, as usual: and having no means of obtaining redress, I was obliged to bear with such deceit and trifling.

A hundred pounds of ivory were purchased. Several hundred weight has been sent away for want of goods to purchase it.

On the 7th April, three knives were found concealed among the wood ashes of the engine fireplace, two of which belonged to the cabin. One of them had been missing since the 18th of March; and I had no doubt they were secreted there by the Kroomen, who had intended to take them ashore the first opportunity as presents to the women. A box of soap was also found broken open, and one bar missing: this was the second that had been opened, though the forecastle is kept constantly locked, and only opened by Mr. Brown. These were disagreeable discoveries, and proved to me that there was no

confidence to be placed even in locks and bolts among Kroomen, and I felt more than ever the loss of my countrymen. But such was my present situation, which I had yet to bear till the river was high enough to admit of our going down.

On the 8th of April, Lander, one of Abboka's principal slaves, who took charge of a letter which I wrote to Mr. Lander and a looking-glass I sent to King Obie, came on board. He stated that he gave the letter to one of Obie's chiefs, who promised to give it to the king, and through whose hands it was to be transmitted to King Boy; all of which I could only hope was true.

A circumstance occurred this morning which made me feel more resolved than ever to leave a place where so much deceit and mercenary measures were adopted. About a week ago I engaged one of the natives (a married woman with one child), named Amerboo, to accompany me up the river, and attend Iccory market with some small articles, with the view of obtaining as many cowries as possible in exchange. I desired her not to say anything respecting her engagement, as Abboka might prevent her going;

at which she smiled, and said she had a right to go where she pleased, for "she was a free woman." She was a native of Fundah, and spoke several languages, which made her services more valuable in a market where all tongues are met. She had already been very useful in purchasing small articles, as corn, bread, rice, yams, and pepper, and sometimes in the purchase of ivory. This morning I sent her to a market held on the right or west bank of the river, for palm-wine; when, to my great annoyance, she was seized, I was told, for debt, which was owed by some of the natives of Iddah.

The people residing here are called Eyeyan, and it appears this plan of seizing a person who they think will be ransomed is a favourite custom among them. It occurred to me, that it was a plan of the king's to prevent the woman from accompanying me. I sent word to Abboka, requesting to be informed of any misdemeanours she had committed which rendered her liable to confinement.

From the hints thrown out by Amagdohby latterly, I was inclined to think that Abboka had a share in effecting the seizure of Amerboo, who had given me some important information respect-

ing the transactions passing at Iddah, and enabled me to discriminate between my real and apparent friends. She could likewise purchase anything at the market price; whereas if any of my people went on shore for that purpose, the natives would not sell anything under twenty times the price asked from the inhabitants.

In a few days, however, I hoped to be at Iccory and Addacoodah, or at Egga, and out of the dominions of Attah. For my own part, I had long been heartily tired of the monotonous life I was now leading, and quite out of patience with Attah. My people were also complaining of the scarcity of provisions, although each man had twice the allowance I had myself, as for some time I had been living on boiled Indian corn (the bread of the natives, and called Cankee), yams, and palm-oil. I was considerably reduced in strength; for, besides this, I was suffering every day from two attacks of intermittent fever.

I had made up my mind to get under weigh for the Shary as soon as I could, and to run all risks of getting aground. I expected on reaching Addacoodah to be well supplied with bullocks, sheep, and goats, as well as yams in abundance, and rice.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Departure from Iddah.—The Alburkah aground.—Hostility of the Natives.—Death of the Carpenter, William Miller.—Proceed up the River.—Difficulties of Navigation.—Arrive at Iccory Market, the Bocqua of Lander.—Bird Rock.—Intercourse and Trade with the Natives.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 9th of April, in pursuance of my intentions, no messenger having arrived from Abboka, I got under weigh, having sounded the channel previously. I fired a few guns for Abboka, and got through the most difficult part of the river hereabouts; but owing to the engine failing, we ran aground in the main branch, nearly abreast of the town where Amerboo had been taken prisoner.

Abboka sent to inquire the reason of my departure; but I returned no satisfactory answer, for I had ample reason to be perfectly disgusted with every one at Iddah. Two Mallams, entire strangers to me, soon after came on board, and said that the people who had seized Amerboo

were bad, and had killed one of Abboka's sons a short time ago in war.

The next day I was employed in shifting the heavy goods out of the Alburkah into the long-boat; and several days were spent in useless efforts to get the vessel off the bank.

On the following day (April 14th), the boat was occupied in examining the river, while a party was employed on shore in cutting wood; and on Thursday, April 15th, we again got under weigh, and after proceeding about a mile and a half, again ran aground.

While occupied in getting the vessel off, a number of the natives of Eyeyan (which extends along the west bank of the river from Damuggoo to Addacoodah) assembled on a sandbank abreast of us, and also on the bank of the river beneath the trees. They presented their arrows at the vessel, making at the same time some most hideous yells, sounding a war-pipe formed of an elephant's tooth, and uttering their terrific warhoop. Several voices were heard crying out in the Shabbee language, "White man, white man, come on shore in canoe, and we will kill you all." To this kind invitation my only answer was by pointing to the guns; but this served only to in-

crease their anxiety, for they advanced in a body with their arrows fixed, and dropped down on one knee. They then arose and made another advance as before. Several fell flat on their backs; a manœuvre which they practise probably in war, and would perhaps try to practise in case I should fire on them.

There were four wicker-work cages on the sandbank, with apertures large enough to admit one at a time: in these they took up their quarters for the night, sounding a pipe, and uttering the most discordant yells ever heard. I ordered the drum to be beat, and a blue light to be fired from the yard-arm, with the view of quieting them. While this was burning they continued silent, and afterwards commenced their war-cry as before, some voices again calling out, "Come on shore, and we will kill you all." I mounted the paddle-box while these people were within about thirty yards of the vessel, and ready to fire their arrows, which were pointed at me. My men were all stationed at their guns, prepared at a moment's notice to fire, and anxious to give the natives a salute. I have no doubt that had I given the signal, my people, principally Kroomen, would have fought valiantly, for they dis-

liked any nation but their own, calling them negroes, a word of great reproach among Kroomen.

Standing on the paddle-box, I deliberately observed the motions of the people on shore, determined to fire if they had given provocation by a first discharge. One arrow from them would have been quite sufficient to have purchased for them such a volley of canister-shot as had never before been fired on the Niger.

I desired our interpreter, Kacundah, to request of them to give up Amerboo, my trade-woman, and in return I would make them a present, and that I was unwilling to make war or kill any of them. To this amicable proposal they made no answer, save that of bestowing a volley of abuse upon Kacundah, saying, that he was nothing but a slave to the white men; that they wanted me, not him; and if I wanted Amerboo, I might go into the bush and fetch her, where she was secured as a prisoner.

These natives are a barbarous and savage-looking race, with scarcely any covering, many of them being in a state of nudity, and a terror to the natives on the opposite bank of the river. I was informed that last year they had seized a

wife of one of Abboka's sons, who took several of his people to rescue her, and was killed in the attempt. A son of Attah's, who came up with me, and whose death I noticed a short time back as occasioned by the natives living below Kacundah, went to Eyeyan to make war: several of the people ran into the river to seize his canoe, but, getting out of their depth and not being able to swim, they were all drowned.

There were about two hundred persons assembled to-day. Their huts are not visible, being quite concealed in the trees, and no traces of any habitations can be seen, except an occasional wreath of smoke rising from among the trees. The only commercial intercourse which they have with each other is a market which is held every ten days for the sale of palm-wine, plantains, and corn. It was for the former article that I sent Amerboo amongst them when she was seized, and I am still of opinion it was done by the orders of the King or Queen of Iddah. Had I fired among them, I might have killed forty or fifty of them; but it would only have endangered the life of Amerboo, and have risked a formidable attack on the vessel.

To-day I observed a large and beautiful circle

or halo round the sun, comprising all the glowing colours of the rainbow. In the evening the carpenter was taken sick.

At one o'clock the following morning a heavy tornado came on from the north-east, with loud but distant peals of thunder.

At 5. 40 A.M. William Miller, the carpenter, who had been very unwell ever since coming into the river, and who was worse yesterday, expired. He was about forty-eight years of age, a very industrious man, and the only Englishman I had on board. I had now only one white man left, and he was a Spaniard, and could not speak a word of English; and being myself but a very indifferent Spanish scholar, his loss would prevent me from executing my intention of going to Egga. I intended visiting Kacundah (or Mogay, as it is named by the natives), also Ibbodo, which is the residence of the king, and consequently the principal town.

The death of the carpenter placed me more in the power of my enemies, and I therefore thought it prudent to keep on the most friendly terms with Abboka, and sent him one of our best swords, with a message, that when he intended to injure me, I should expect him to return it.

It was not my intention to repose implicit confidence in any man in the country, and not more in Abboka than appearances rendered necessary. When he found that I had got under weigh, he appeared to be rather jealous, and sent to inquire whither I was going, and why I did not inform him of my intended departure. My going up the country was an offence to them all, and to Abboka in particular, because I might sell the goods to other natives, which, if I stayed, some of his sons would purchase and turn to very profitable account:—the objections of the king against my departure were grounded on the same thrifty principles. I gave orders that the carpenter's death should be concealed from every one, even from Abboka's people.

On the 17th, two natives belonging to English Island came alongside with rice. I prevailed on them to go to the Eyeyan people, and try to effect the liberation of Amerboo. I sent a looking-glass and other presents by them, but received word back, that they would not take either, but would exchange her for two red coats or two slaves!

Abboka's head slave came on board with his master's thanks for the sword I had sent him,

and a request that I would not depart until he had seen me. I sent word that I would wait until the next day. I presumed the old man would persuade me not to go up the country, for the reasons I have stated; but I have no alternative: I can get no more ivory here; whereas by converting the few goods I have on board into cowries, by taking them to the markets or higher up the country, I should be enabled to add to my stock of that article. Another pressing reason for my departure was, that I should get away before we were in a state of starvation; for we had been living on rice during the last ten days, no yams having been brought us for some time. Abboka sent a goat, which was the only one we had had for nearly twenty days.

At 5 P. M. we interred the remains of the carpenter, William Miller, on a sandbank, near the spot where the late Captain Miller is buried, and named it Carpenter's Point. At the same time, Johnson, a fireman, was taken sick.—This late hour was chosen for the ceremony in order that we might escape the observation of the natives. It was quite dark by the time the boat reached the spot marked out for his grave. So great was the danger attending a moment's de-

lay longer than was requisite for putting the corpse into the earth, that we had no time to read the burial service.

On the next day we got steam up, and proceeded a short distance, when we again grounded in four feet of water, in a place which we named Shallow Hole.

At 9 A. M. on the 19th, got steam up, and under weigh from Shallow Hole. Passed Carpenter's Point. About 11 A. M. the stock of fuel being consumed, we anchored abreast of a good wooding place, and sent the men on shore to cut firewood. When the men returned, I found they had been much alarmed; for four Eyeyan natives had suddenly come upon them, presenting their arrows and demanding why they were cutting wood. After the Kroomen had left, these four natives appeared on the sandbank.

At 3 P. M. we again got under weigh, steering north:—soundings, from one up to five and six fathoms; in some places only five feet. The great object in navigating the river is to find the regular channel, which it is very difficult to do, on account of the continual shifting of the sandbanks. In the proper channel, where I found six fathoms, it is not more than sixty or eighty

yards wide. I consider this as one of the best periods for discovering the situation of the deep water.

At 5 P. M. came to an anchor. This evening some fishermen brought us a very fine turtle weighing sixty-one pounds. It was purchased for three knives, value twopence half-penny each, and ten flints, and was to us a most desirable acquisition.

The next morning, the Kroomen engaged in cutting wood. Johnson somewhat better. At 1. 5 P. M. we got under weigh. Water very shallow for two miles; only four and a half or five feet could be found on sounding. We grounded twice, but got off in a few minutes. The depth of water which the vessel now draws, in consequence of the removal of the heavy goods into the long-boat, was four feet and a quarter. Observing something floating on the surface of the stream, it proved to be the corpse of a woman.*

At 6. 30 P. M. came to an anchor. At 7 P. M.

* I was afterwards informed, that the corpse I met floating on the water was that of a poor woman who had been thrown into the river a few days previous as a sacrifice to the river-god, by order of the cruel King of Iddah. Only a few days ago, a corpse drifted athwart our hawse while at anchor.

had a very heavy tornado, with thunder and lightning.

At 7 A. M. on the 21st, we got under weigh; and at 8. 5, anchored for wood. At eleven o'clock, again got under weigh; and at 1. 30 P. M. anchored abreast the sandbank on which Iccory market is held, and likewise contiguous to Smart Island. Here we observed another body floating down the stream.

An instance of the dexterity of the Kroomen is exemplified in their diving, and their power of remaining under water a considerable time. Several boxes of goods had been removed from the vessel, in order to lighten her, into the long-boat, which was secured astern. About 5 A. M. it commenced blowing fresh from the north-west, and caused a short bubbling sea; the boat, being out of repair, filled with water, and went down, the bows being suspended perpendicularly by a chain to the stern of the vessel. The Kroomen commenced diving at 6 A. M. and continued until eleven; succeeding in obtaining every box, by securing ropes round them, and hauling them up. The depth of water was four fathoms, and a very strong current was running at the time. They remained under water nearly fifty seconds at a time.

The next morning I sent on shore to endeavour to purchase provisions, but found that none were to be had till next day, that being market-day. I ascended Bird Rock, of which a view is given in Lander's Journal, and found the eggs of a turtle-dove, and the nest of a very large bird of the crane species: I also caught five bats. The rock is composed of granite, and its dimensions are fifty feet in height, and three hundred and eighty in circumference. We found from two to four fathoms water round its base. When the river is full, very little of this rock is visible.

On the morning of the 25th, Muzza came on board, and said that Abboka had given him his freedom, and that he was going to see his mother: but I strongly suspected that he wanted me to take him up the country.

I now sent Mr. Brown on shore, with Abbah, a trading-girl, whom I had taken on board at Iddah. She broke the black-lead into small pieces, each about the size of a nut, which she sold for ten or twenty cowries. With this she took six hundred and eighty cowries to-day; and Mr. Brown took about ten thousand, principally for crockery ware, snuff-boxes; and looking-glasses.

Early on the morning of the 20th April, I sent Mr. Brown and Abbah on shore with goods for sale. I found, on their return, three thousand three hundred cowries had been taken for black-lead alone:—this article pays very well. Mr. Brown received eighty thousand cowries. The place which I selected for trade was a very excellent one, between the Shabbee and Kacundah canoes, and those from Iddah; at the same time it was abreast of the vessel.

About 1 A. M. the Shabbee canoes came down, being a day and a half later than usual, in consequence of some country higher up the river being at war for the purpose of obtaining slaves, and only five of them were present. The market was very full at this time: it lasts, generally, a day and a half.

In the course of the morning the Sullikeen Casiva (King of the Market) came on board. I asked him if there was any duty required for trading in the market; if there was, I would pay as the rest did. He said it was customary to give a little, and accordingly I presented him with a looking-glass in a gilt frame; in return for which he sent me two pots of beer. He told me to let him know if any person stole anything,

or wished to injure the goods, and he would punish them: on which I mentioned, that a boy had the audacity to take up a knife from Mr. Brown's wares and run off with it in presence of a great number of people.

At 2. 45, on the 27th, we got under weigh for Addacoodah; and at 7. 20, we anchored near the spot where the Quorra was lately moored, in rather shallow water, surrounded on all sides by rocks. The number of cowries received for small wares at the market amounted to 84,973; six thousand of them being for the small pieces of black-lead before mentioned. The invoice price of the goods sold was about five pounds six shillings, or perhaps something less. These cowries would purchase nearly a hundred weight of ivory and provisions.

CHAPTER XIX.

Proceed to Addacoodah.—Visit from Mallam Catab.—The Felatahs' Attack on Boossa.—Visit the King of Addacoodah.—Toto City.—Some Notice of it.—Visit Iocory Market—Account of African Market.—Character of the Natives.—Their distinguishing Marks.—Return to Addacoodah.—Preparations for returning down the River.—An Anchor lost.

On the 28th we got under weigh, and proceeded about half a mile, when we grounded. Several attempts were made to get off again, without success; and the river being shallow, the deep water lying only alongside the rocks, I was unable to reach Addacoodah before the afternoon of the 3rd of May. We suffered great privation from want of food, not one in the ship having tasted anything for a whole day. The yams were almost out of season, and the few to be procured were old and worm-eaten: the new yams are taken up in July.

At eight this morning I despatched Mr. Brown

to Addacoodah to purchase provisions for us. He returned about 1 P. M. with some Cankee Indian corn bread, when we were under weigh. Soon afterwards, Mallam Catab's canoe came alongside with him, his son, and several attendants. He brought me some cooked rice and fish stewed in palm-oil.

It will be recollected that Mallam Catab was employed by Attah to administer poison to Pascoe and Ibrahim. In order to alarm him, I told him that I had heard he was going to do me an injury by poisoning me, and threatened that if I had any reason to suspect him of putting maghony into anything he sent to me, I would instantly shoot him. He said that no Mallam in the country had maghony (poison) which could cause death; but I replied that I knew it to be false, and instanced the death of poor Pascoe. He seemed very anxious that I should anchor under the bush near Addacoodah; but I refused, and told him that I wanted more room for the guns, as there were some very bad people in the country.

I was apprehensive that I should be obliged to move further up, as there was too little water where we lay; nor was there any prospect of pass-

ing Addacoodah as yet until the river became fuller. I learnt from the Mallam that the Tchadda, which was then nearly dry, would be emptying its waters into the Quorra in the course of another month; so that at present I was disappointed in my intention of going up that river.

The next morning, the Mallam, his son, and others came on board, the former bringing a bullock as a present. It was a remarkably fine animal, but rather poor. I think it was the finest I ever saw in the country. Catab told me that he had brought it as a present, and that he would behave to me as he had before behaved to Mr. Lander. I thanked him for his kindness, and told him that I came for the purpose of entering into a fair and honest traffic with the natives, who, I hoped, would deal as honestly with me.

In the course of the day we purchased a large cat-fish, measuring from the snout to the tail four feet one inch, and weighing sixty-one pounds, for two knives value five-pence.

The next day I received a present of a large sheep from Toto, by Mallam Catab; and on the 6th, being market-day, several Kacundah canoes came alongside, as well as canoes from the Tchadda. I purchased a hundred and twenty-

five pounds of ivory, at about eight-pence per pound, being the cheapest I had ever obtained. It was very provoking to be obliged to send away several uncommonly fine teeth for want of cowries to purchase them with. More than five hundred weight was taken away for this reason.

Soho, a trader from Cuttum-Curaffee, brought one tooth for sale. He told me that he did not know till very lately of the vessel being at Iddah; that he had inquired of the traders several times, and they told him that we had not yet come up. It appears to have been the policy of Attah and his brother to deny that the ship was at Iddah; for I know very well that he would not allow a canoe from Addacoodah or Cuttum-Curaffee to come alongside without the owner's head being in jeopardy.

I was told that the Felatahs were at war with the King of Boossa, several hundred of them having gone from Soccatoo to Rabbah to assist their lawless companions. The Boossa people deserted their town, after having made considerable resistance and driven the Felatahs back. I was also told that they were afraid of coming down the river to attack Attah as long as the Alburkah was there.

The 7th of May was a gloomy, dull day, and I was very unwell.

On the 8th, the Mallams of the neighbourhood brought off a hundred and four pounds of ivory for sale; but wanting cowries in exchange, I was compelled, though reluctantly, to abandon all hopes of purchasing. Yesterday and to-day we have been obliged to refuse many teeth, merely from our inability to procure cowries. Heavy rain fell in the course of the day.

On the 9th, the Kroomen were sent to cut wood, and the canoes were on their return from Iccory market. A tooth was brought to me a few days since, with the integuments of the gum attached to it, and quite fresh. The elephant had been killed only three days before, a little way up the Tchadda.*

Soho, the trader to the King of Cuttum-Curaffee, called on his return from market, and pressed me to send a messenger to the king, who, he was sure, would be very glad to hear from me. I accordingly sent Jowdie, and desired

* Their method of taking the elephant is by pit-falls, and parties of six and eight taking the animal by surprise, and shooting it. I am informed that there are great numbers of elephants on the east side of the river, and up the Tchadda.

him to say that in the course of a month or six weeks the large ship would come up the river to trade for ivory, and that I felt very sorry at being destitute of goods suitable for trade, all my stock being expended, except swords, pistols, and large umbrellas, with which I was very anxious to trade. Soho had purchased slaves with the cowries I had given him for the seventy-one pounds of ivory: he had six young women, three of whom had children at the breast. He informed me that he had purchased them with the intention of exchanging them for ivory with the traders of the interior.

The morning of the 10th was very dull; at noon it commenced raining, and continued until the following morning.

On the 11th the weather changed, and the morning was fine. Francisco, the Spaniard, was taken ill, and I found, on examination, that he was labouring under chronic disorder of the liver.

On coming up the river, I sought for the place where the late lamented Dr. Briggs was interred. I had long entertained a wish to place a board over his grave, to mark out the spot to future voyagers. I was now engaged in pre-

paring the board, and humble as it certainly was, it was the only mark of respect that I was able to pay to his memory.

I visited the king, being the first time of my going ashore this trip. He is an elderly man, very plain in his appearance, and the same who brought the boy Friday to us last season. He gave the boat's crew a thousand cowries, to be divided amongst them, and expressed his happiness at being on friendly terms with the white men. Addacoodah pays a tribute to Attah, by whom its present chief was placed in power.

The Mallam presented me with some eggs and a fowl, and I remained in his house upwards of an hour. A mixture of honey and water was also brought us, and on seeing it he jocosely remarked, that it was his barrasa (rum), they having nothing stronger as a beverage than beer, which the Mallams are forbidden to drink, but consider it no sin to drink rum, even to intoxication. They were quite astonished to see us drink beer, and thought it derogatory to our dignity.

Since my last visit, Addacoodah had been considerably enlarged, and the population greatly increased: the dye-pits were now at work. The

streets are very dirty, owing to the crowded situation of the houses. I asked the Mallam the reason of their dwellings being built so close to each other; but he could give me no information. I inquired if it was done for the purpose of keeping out the Felatah horse, as Egga is built in a confined situation for that reason. He said that this was not the reason, but it was customary to construct them so. He laughed immoderately as he told me, that when the Felatahs plundered the town last season, one of them called out, "Catab! Catab!" and invited him to return to the town, whence he had fled. The Mallam hearing himself called by name, replied, "You son of a dog! is it you and your comrades, who go about plundering the country, who are calling me?" He told me this with much glee, congratulating himself at the idea of getting clear of him. The Felatah, who wore a white tobe, seeing that he could not entice Catab from the sandbank, went away with the rest.

The morning of the 12th was dull: the King of Addacoodah came on board and stayed some time.

The next day, Mallam Catab came on board.

Within the last few days, he and his people had purchased many articles from us, as flints, needles, and paper. He told me of his intention to go up the Tchadda, to a place named Toto, near its banks, for the purpose of disposing of his merchandise.

Toto possesses an immense population, and has the reputation of being the largest city in this part of the country. It is situate about thirty miles east from Fundah, and somewhat less than fifty from the banks of the Tchadda. The natives are skilled in war, and manufacture copper and clay pipes, spears, bows, arrows, drums, stirrups fashioned like shovels, bridles and saddles, sandals, tobes, Houssa trousers, straw hats trimmed with leather, and a great variety of other articles. Arabian horses, brought from Soccatoo, are to be procured there for about five or six pounds sterling (a hundred thousand cowries). The natives also work calabashes in a variety of patterns. Bullocks, sheep, goats, horses, ostriches, and camels are said to be plentiful.

Jowdie, the messenger, returned from Cuttum-Curaffee with a civil message from the king,

and forty yams and a fine sheep.* Soho, who came with him, had four very fine teeth in his canoe; one of them would have weighed ninety pounds. He wanted to sell them for cowries. He was shown pistols, rugs, swords, &c. but he refused to part with them for anything but cowries.

Jowdie brought a message from the King of Cuttum-Curaffee, to the effect that his observatory had been destroyed by lightning for the third time, and that his majesty hoped I would send him some maghony (medicine or charm) to prevent a recurrence of the disaster; that he himself had sacrificed two slaves to appease the evil spirit. The king also sent word that he had collected plenty of ivory, and was anxiously expecting my arrival. — Two Felatahs were at Cuttum-Curaffee, and told Jowdie that since the white men were at Rabbah, all the principal

* The sheep, a beautiful creature, with a mane of long hair like a lion, and the finest symmetrical form possible, was presented to the Liverpool Zoological Gardens, being the first of the kind ever brought to England. During the voyage home of three months, it became quite docile and a general favourite with all hands, answering to its name of Cuttum, like a dog: it was fed upon biscuits, yams, &c. and never refused salt beef and pork.

men had died, and that the rockets were discharged, and Sullikeen Maghony had killed them all. He stated that the Boossa people were in great distress, and had been driven out of the town by the Felatahs. The King of Egga was collecting all the teeth he could, understanding that the vessel was on her way thither.

On the 19th of May, despatched Mr. Brown, with four hands, in the long-boat, to Iccory market.

On the 20th, I was very unwell with fever; the day was wet; and on the 21st I was still indisposed. In the evening, the long-boat returned, having had a fair wind, from the market. The amount of goods sold was 58,655 cowries. The principal articles of sale were snuff-boxes, looking-glasses, paper, flints, and crockery ware.

On the 23rd I paid five hundred cowries per pound (sixpence) for a tooth somewhat damaged, and about three hundred per pound for a scrivelloe.

In the morning of the 25th, one of the King of Iddah's principal eunuchs came on board to purchase some trifling articles. He stated the king was sorry I had left; on which I showed

him the bullock and goats we had on board, and asked him if ever he had sent us one of the former on board at Iddah alive. I added, that had we remained there a little longer, we should all have died from starvation. This he could not deny, but said that the people were afraid to bring us provisions, lest they should incur the displeasure of the king. He was now going to Toto respecting an Arabian horse for Attah.

A Felatah at Cuttum-Curaffee sent me yesterday some milk and butter, which proved a most agreeable treat. The Felatahs make great quantities of butter, but, owing to the heat, it soon becomes rancid.

At 8 A. M. on the 28th, we got under weigh for Iccory market, and at twelve o'clock anchored abreast of Smart's Island, on which it is held.

On the morning of the 28th, several Shabbee canoes attended the market: many arrived the night before. Our little party landed to trade, and 15,570 cowries were taken by them during the day.

In the afternoon I went ashore, not having landed at the market since July. I found a great quantity of English goods there. Among the articles exposed for sale were pieces of handker-

chiefs of a large red pattern, white baft, and beads of various shapes and colours (chiefly blue and green): there was also a little red cloth, two English hats made of common wool, and two or three red caps, such as are brought to the coast for the purpose of trade. These articles were brought from the Eboe country, having passed into the hands of the Eboes from traders at Benin, Bonny, &c. Several of my old traders recognised me, and were very glad to see me.

Abboka's trader, Lander, who was formerly his slave, but now an extensive trader on his own and Abboka's account, had gone to meet the Shabbee canoes as they landed. He is, perhaps, as respectable a trader as any between Iccory and Kirree. I went up to his tents, which I could distinguish from the rest by the bunting I had given him, with which he had made a flag, and which was hoisted on a long pole and placed at the front of the tents. I met him on the way; when he embraced me most cordially, and invited me to accompany him to his tent, and partake of some beer and Goora nuts.

He informed me that five boats had been to the place where Mr. Lander was attacked. Mr. Lander had remonstrated with the natives, and

endeavoured to induce them to give up the chief of the town, who had fled on Mr. Lander's approach. This they refused to do, and Mr. Lander departed, telling them that they should hear from him again before long. From his description, it appears to me that they were man-of-war's boats,* and I desired him to make particular enquiries respecting them at the ensuing Eboe market, and to let me know if anything further had transpired; which he promised he would do.

A son of Abboka's invited me into his tent, and gave me a little rum, the first I had tasted for a very considerable time. I had only one jar left, and that I was purposely keeping for the people on our passage down the river.

I saw several of the king's eunuchs, who embraced me and appeared very friendly. The market appeared to be but very thinly attended.

It is almost impossible to imagine a more animated scene than an African market. The Iccory market is not so large as that of Rabbah, nor so complete, but it is situated in a most beautiful part of the river, with undulating hills on each side, while to the eastward are to

* This is not true, and probably originated in Colonel Nicolls making an attempt to get up.

be seen the Kong mountains, with their dark sides and tabular summits. Nearly abreast the market are four hills of a conical form, one of them being higher than those adjoining. It is at Iccory that the country begins to assume a pleasing appearance; the scenery becomes picturesque, and it had lost none of its beauty when we turned back at Rabbah. The hills are composed of black granite and iron-stone, the latter being abundant.

On landing on the sandbank at Iccory market, a European is struck with the remarkable appearance and dresses of the various traders and their attendants; while on each side he is welcomed with "Senoo senoo—corry la fere," (Good morning—I hope you are well,) from a hundred persons, who press on him much to his personal discomfort. Mats are erected in various directions, the natives of each country selecting a piece of ground. The huts or mats extend for a quarter of a mile, and under these mats and on the sand are exposed for sale Goora-nuts, country-made cloths, bridles, saddles, blue and white beads, tobes, sandals, country caps, spiced balls, Indian corn, Macadania, or Shea butter, pod pepper, beer, cocoa-nuts, and plantains; horses,

sheep, goats, fowls, and dogs;—while his ears are saluted with "Gēwaw, gēwaw," (A tooth, a tooth,) from several fine well-formed slaves, who are carrying elephant's teeth on their heads, weighing from fifty to a hundred pounds. As he proceeds through the market, he observes dozens of traders drinking their beer and gossiping over the bargains they have made. Under the mats and in the enclosures are to be seen male and female slaves, from the age of five up to thirty. Some of these children of misfortune, more intelligent than others, are to be seen sitting pensive and melancholy, apparently in deep thought, while their poor legs are swelled from confinement in irons, or being closely stowed at the bottom of a canoe; some are eating yams and Indian-corn bread, while their owners are making a bargain or bartering them away for elephants' teeth or cowries. It is painful to contemplate the number of slaves annually sold at this market, most of whom are forwarded to the sea-side: allowing there to be fifty canoes—which there are, and nearly double—and each canoe generally takes eight or ten slaves,—calculating thus, fifty canoes, with ten slaves each, make five hundred. The market is held every ten

days, but twice a month every eight days, and the number of markets is 300 × 38=11400. The greater number of slaves exposed are Noufanchie and Ibbodo. So that eleven thousand poor creatures, at the lowest computation, are exposed for sale annually. The demand is sometimes greater than at others, distributed all over the country; but, as I have before observed, most of them go to the sea-side.

As the European stranger proceeds through the market, he is struck with the various dresses and features of the traders, and the various produce and articles for sale, evincing industry and, to them, wealth. Hundreds are to be seen counting their bags or cowriers of cowries, containing from thirty to sixty thousand. The women are extensive traders, each merchant having five or six of his wives with him at market, who are busily employed purchasing and selling.

The various dresses of the natives are not the least striking; they show the customs of the country people of the different towns between Eboe and Egga, and the various shades of colour in the people are very perceptible. The Eboes have the strongest characteristic features of the

negro — the Ibbodo the next; the skin of the former being lighter than the latter, and of a light copper colour. The Nufie, or Nufanchie, are a very handsome race of people, (the higher we proceeded up the river, the fewer the indications of the negro race, no doubt from the intercourse with the Moors and Arabs,) and we found them gentle and mild in their dispositions, and very industrious. Ideresa, the king, was one of the mildest men I have met with; indeed, the good qualities of these people have rendered them too easy a prey to their neighbours the Felatahs, who, after depriving them of their country, are continually levying contributions.

The Eboe trader is easily distinguished at the market by his half European dress, wearing sometimes a jacket; some have a hat — some merely a shirt, which they are highly proud of: their country or national mark is three perpendicular incisions on each temple. Between Eboe and the Tchadda, country cloths of a blue colour are worn, and English cottons. Tobes and turbans are worn by the more respectable natives at Iddah.

The national mark of the Nufanchie is three curved lines on each cheek, and generally two

under the left scapula. The Ibbodo mark is six or seven curved lines from the external angle of the eye over the cheek to the lower lip. The Houssa national mark approaches the Bornou mark, being lines carried from the cheek-bone to the chin, sometimes eight or nine in number. The sons or daughters of the king are seldom marked in the face; they are marked in their arms generally. Few of the Felatahs are marked; and they look upon the marked tribes with great disdain, and consider it the infallible mark of a slave. Some of the women are quite mutilated with marks on their arms and breasts, having the flesh raised nearly an inch, presenting stripes and figures of animals. This method of tatooing is common among the women in the Eboe, Ebaw, Amar, Moya, and Nufie countries, up to above Egga.

Early on the morning of the 31st, I despatched Mr. Brown ashore, with assistants and two Kroomen, to count the cowries. At 5 P. M. the market was closed, and I found that 21,160 cowries were taken by our party, for the sale of pewter basins, crockery ware, paper, &c. The last of our stock of antimony was sold to-day: it is an article which meets with a ready sale, and

brings a tolerable price, 223 lbs. fetching 25,395 cowries.*

In the afternoon several of the traders and Abboka's sons, from whom I had not received a single present, came alongside, evidently in expectation of receiving something. To some I gave, and others I refused. One of them, although in his own country, wanted me to give him some yams; such is their covetousness.

One trader came on board somewhat under the influence of beer and rum, and only asked some little trifle to take with him to Iddah, "Sullikee, Sullikee," he kept saying, "bashee, bashee," (give me, give me), and at last requested me to give him something to eat. I told him that if he would remain on board until sunset, he should have something to eat. He invited his wives on board, that they might receive something as well; and I purchased from him a tooth, weighing sixty-eight pounds and a half, for forty-eight thousand cowries and seven red caps, making a total of fifty thousand five hundred cowries, or about sixpence per pound, which I considered exceedingly cheap.

* Twenty-five thousand cowries would purchase an elephant's tooth weighing thirty pounds.

I had about fifty thousand cowries remaining, and purposed returning to Addacoodah the next day, to lay in a supply of live stock, as provisions there are extremely plentiful; for I intended before the next market-day to be under weigh for the sea-side, as soon as I could obtain goats, a ram, and a horse, at Iddah, I should have gone down immediately, but as there was no moon, I considered it better to wait for the first quarter of the next moon, and dispose of my cowries for more ivory. I knew also there would be a great deal of rain in the ensuing week, (new moon,) by which the depth of the river would be increased. It was my intention to await the arrival of the Shabbee canoes, and purchase rice and fowls. All my Kroomen were in great spirits, knowing that I should go down when there was sufficient water.

At 7 A. M. on the 1st of June, we got under weigh. Heavy rains continued from 11 A. M. until 5 P. M. about which time we anchored abreast of Addacoodah. The depth of the river varied from one to five fathoms.

The natives were much pleased at the return of the ship. I had informed them I was going to remain at Iddah a moon, and they brought

many little articles for trade. I was informed that a war is going forward up the Tchadda, and that the Bassa people had joined the natives of Corracu, and several had been killed.

On the morning of the 3rd, the person who represented himself as the chief of Fundykee, and who was put in irons when the vessels went up the Tchadda, last August, came on board, and appeared very glad to see me, embracing me most cordially. In kneeling down to pay his respects, he struck his head against the deck several times, exclaiming, "Burka, burka." He was very shabbily dressed, and appeared reduced to great indigence. I understood that since he was prisoner on board, he had been much despised, and no one seemed willing to notice him. It will be recollected that he was liberated after being kept in durance for a fortnight, in the course of which time the people took the opportunity of robbing his house. I could not resist the inclination to give the unfortunate man a red cap and a looking-glass, and his joy on receiving them was unbounded, as much from finding himself restored to favour as for the sake of the presents. He ran backwards and forwards about the deck like a madman, and

embraced me so cordially, that he endangered my slender frame. He immediately took off the old ragged cap he wore, aad replacing it with his new one went ashore highly delighted. I cautioned him against ever attempting to harm the white men any more, but rather to do good to them, and assist them.

Last night a Ju-ju was made on shore. I was informed that during the ceremony neither men nor women are allowed to leave their houses. A disobedience on the part of the women would entail a miscarriage on those who are pregnant, and sterility on the rest. I heard a shrill kind of noise, made by blowing a scrivelloe with a hole at the upper end.

Preparations for going to the sea-side had now been making on board for some days. The arms were examined and repaired, the ship's guns cleaned, the locks cleaned, &c. &c. We stowed away a supply of wood as well as we were able; the chimney, engine-house, and steam-chest having been repainted; and the little vessel looked quite gay.

The river having risen considerably, I determined on getting under weigh. At 4. 45, steam was up; but unfortunately we could not move

the anchor, in consequence of its being so deeply embedded in the sand, which the current had washed down from the confluence of the Tchadda. We had not a single rope capable of sustaining a weight of ten pounds. I obtained the assistance of above eighty of the natives from two Shabbee canoes, who, united to my own people, made about one hundred. Steam was raised to its full power, the people were hauling at the cable, and the engine working reversed, but all to no effect; we could not move the anchor, although the vessel's bows were almost down to the water's edge. A purchase was also got on the cable; but it was to no purpose.

After labouring for nine hours and a half in endeavouring to heave up the anchor, I was necessitated, though with reluctance, to cut the cable and leave it. Two Kroomen had been also engaged in diving for two hours, clearing away the sand from it; but their efforts were ineffectual, as the anchor was buried in the sand to the depth of some feet. This was our only anchor, the mate having lost one on the 1st of January. I could not but regret the loss, as the tornadoes are so violent as to be very dangerous to a vessel unprovided with very good ground-tackle. My

intention was in future to anchor between sand-banks, and to keep as clear of all rocks as I could, and above all, to make the best of our way down to the sea-side.

At 3 P. M. of the 11th of June, we therefore got under weigh, and at 6 arrived at Iccory. I sent the boat ashore there, and purchased two bags of French beans. This morning forty-nine fowls and sixty bags of rice were purchased from the Shabbee canoes. At 7 P. M. we were again under weigh; and at 10 P. M. anchored off a wooding-place.

I had had a slight attack of dysentery for the last few days, and suffered very great pain. I had purchased a bullock, and was glad to find it was doing very well on board. The trader, who sold it to me for twenty thousand cowries, was a native of Toto, and assured me there was plenty of ivory at that town, and that were I to go there, the king would be glad to trade with us and supply us with provisions. The bullock was from the Bornou country, and the hunch on his shoulders was larger than any I had yet met with. He was of the carrier kind, such as are used by the African ladies to ride to market upon. I placed a Krooman on his back, who, by means

of the grass rope through the cartilage of the nose, guided him round the ship, much to the amusement of the natives.

I now availed myself of an opportunity of placing a board, which had been in readiness some time, at the head of the grave of the late Dr. Briggs. It was inscribed,

To the Memory
of
Thos. Briggs, Esq.
Senior Surgeon of the Niger Expedition,
Who departed this life,
Feb. 8th, 1833.
R. A. K. O. May 11th, 1834.

The letters were cut on a black ground, and painted white. It gave me great satisfaction to find his remains had been undisturbed; his grave, and that of two others, being in the same state in which I visited them fifteen months ago.

CHAPTER XX.

Stop at Iddah.—Get aground.—Return down the River.—Arrive at Eboe.—Pass down the Benin Branch by mistake.—Pass Hyammah.—Hostility of the Natives.—Arrive at King Boy's Barracoon.—Letter from Colonel Nicolls.—Cross the Bar of the Nun.—Voyage to Fernando Po.—Return to England.—A Boat picked up on the Passage.—Safe Arrival.

On the 12th June, at 11. 30 A. M. we got under weigh, and at 1 P. M. anchored off Iddah. Here I took on board the forge, and everything else that I had left behind in April; also five goats which I had left in kid, and I was happy to find our stock was increased by eight during our absence. There was also a bay mare and a sheep with the boy John, whom I left ill with a disorder named craw craw, an infectious disease, or an aggravated form of the scabies: he had perfectly recovered, and came on board with a smooth skin. Abboka was at Damuggoo, I inquired the fate of Amerboo, my late trade-woman, and found that she had been obliged to

sell her son as a slave to obtain her own liberty: she was to be ransomed the day after I arrived. I gave the person a present who had taken care of her during her imprisonment, and who lamented bitterly my leaving the country.

At 3. 20 P. M. we got under weigh from Iddah, and at 4. 30 ran aground. I ordered the men to let the water out of the boiler, and to carry out the substitute I had made for an anchor. This consisted of an anvil, a pig of lead, and six iron bars, all fastened together. I likewise sent the wood ashore, in order to lighten the vessel. We were employed the remainder of the day until 11 P. M.; and owing to the old and decayed condition of our tackle, we could not get the vessel off, the rope breaking on the least strain being used.

During fifteen days I continued suffering from dysentery, owing, I believe, to my having got wet one night during a tornado, at Addacoodah. I was now somewhat recovered, and in the morning of the 23rd we succeeded in our efforts to get the vessel off. At noon we got under weigh, and in an hour anchored again to repair the fireplace.

It took us until the 20th to reach Eboe, hav-

ing been obliged to anchor every night, and occasionally in the daytime to obtain wood. As soon as we had arrived here, I sent Johnson ashore, with Eboe, a black man, who had been cook on board since leaving Fernando Po. I sent by him a present of a rug and two fancy caps to Obie.

I was desirous that the man Eboe should accompany us down the river to the Nun, as in case I should require an interpreter he was the only person who could speak the Eboe language. As an inducement, I repeatedly told him, that unless he did so, I would not give him the value of a flint for his services. He said, "If Obie tell him for go, he go; if Obie tell him for stay, he stay:" but this was a mere excuse, and I believed that he did not wish to go down. I strongly suspected that he had inflicted a wound between his toes, and applied some escharotic herbs to it, in order that his lameness might be a plea for leaving me.

At one o'clock Johnson returned from King Obie with a very unsatisfactory and suspicious account. Obie desired him to say that he had no letters for me, but that he wished very much to see me, and that I must go on shore in the morn-

ing, as he had a great deal of palaver to tell me, and that I must remain at Eboe one moon.

No doubt the object of Obie was to detain me to suit his own purpose: in the mean time the natives lower down the river might assemble to attack me. I could not be positive that Obie had not had anything to do direct with the natives who attacked Mr. Lander, but I had been informed that he had, and I did not credit the accusation, as Hyammah is quite out of his territories and jurisdiction.

Being so well acquainted with the character of the Eboes, and dreading detention, or any other unpleasant consequences which might result from refusing to give anything that Obie might fancy, as his covetousness, I knew, had no bounds,—and moreover, aware of the impolicy of remaining a moment longer at Eboe than was absolutely necessary,—I called up the Kroomen, ordered steam to be got up immediately, and at 2. 45 A. M. got under weigh, trusting for protection to that Omnipotent Being who had carried us safely through so many perils, and by whose assistance we had been enabled to surmount all our difficulties. By making our departure as secret as possible, I prevented the natives anticipating me and

getting below me in the river, and also the natives of Hyammah from combining with each other to oppose our passage.

A very heavy fog, common in this part of the country just before daybreak, came on at 5 A. M. and obliged us to anchor until six, when it cleared away, and we were enabled to proceed on our journey, and entered the Benin branch, bearing west. By mistake we had got a considerable distance down this branch before we were aware of our error. On referring to my journal, I found the Benin branch bearing west above four hours' run from Eboe. It was this branch we had entered: Mr. Laird had entered it in a similar manner by mistake. As I had no men, I had no inclination to proceed down, or I have no doubt I should have come out in the Bight of Benin.

The towns wore a very different appearance from what they did on my going up. On former occasions it was usual to see numbers of the natives congregated on the banks eager to watch the vessel as she passed; but now everything was altered. At the small towns the natives fled into the bush behind plantain and banana trees, or concealed themselves behind their houses, armed

with muskets and spears, and afraid to show themselves.

At 2. 30 P. M. we passed a town named Aribberee, the natives of which were partially concealed by the trees and houses. There were about a hundred in number, armed with muskets and spears; and as we passed, they rushed from their concealment down to the bank. By this time I had crossed over to the other side, and observed them in close conversation, and holding palaver, some with their muskets over their shoulders, and others presenting them in front. Before the town was a large Bonny canoe with a puncheon in it;—at least I had every reason to think it was so, both from its size, and from a native of Bonny, who was in a smaller canoe containing palm-oil. He wore a Guernsey frock, and on seeing the Alburkah, ran his canoe into the bush, where he left it.

I did not perfectly recollect the exact situation of Hyammah, but I felt convinced we were fast approaching it; and from the great number of natives who were armed, and their hostile appearance, I thought we should be attacked before long. All the guns, nine in number, were double-shotted, and the muskets fixed round the

quarter-deck ready for use: the men were armed with a cutlass and brace of pistols each, and stationed by the guns.

About three o'clock, on passing a town situate on the left bank, about two hundred natives rushed from behind the trees and fired at us, taking deliberate aim. I stood by the nine-pounder and fired a rocket over the town; but this did not appear to alarm them, for they kept up an irregular fire running along the bank with the vessel until we rounded the point and got out of sight of the town. The musket-balls flew about the temporary house and the ship's quarter-deck in all directions for several minutes; and although they struck the chimney and roof of the house, we all escaped.

Here I cannot refrain from complimenting my brave Kroomen, who may with truth be said to be the white man's friend; not one of them appeared afraid, but enjoyed the probability of war, as they termed it. They were much disappointed that I did not heave-to and attack the town. Brown's conduct was highly praiseworthy. While I stood on the quarter deck ready to fire into any canoes that should dare to obstruct us, Brown was exceedingly anxious to fire the field-piece

among them; but I did not wish to impede the vessel's way by distracting the helmsman's attention, and running the risk of getting the ship aground, where we should have been exposed to the fire of the natives from both sides of the river.

A few minutes afterwards, on approaching a town named Sahabergrigger, lying on the opposite side of the river, I saw a boy belonging to King Jacket of Brass in a canoe with another person. I invited him on board, and he informed me that the town we had just passed was Hyammah, and that he had been to Sahabergrigger buying oil. He also informed us that the natives of the two towns we had passed were those who united to attack and plunder Mr. Lander. Not knowing whether he was telling the truth or not, I questioned the boy, and holding a pistol to his head, threatened to shoot him unless he told me the truth. I then asked him if the natives of any other town along the river were prepared to attack us: he said, no—there were none. He then told me that the natives of Hyammah had broken and sunk the boats which they had taken from Mr. Lander. He expressed a wish to accompany me down the river; to which I assented.

The town of Hyammah consists of about four streets, built on the left bank of the river, a few hundred yards distant from the branch said to lead to Bonny. I had nearly four fathoms of water abreast the town. The bank of the river when I passed was eighteen or twenty feet high; when the river is full, there will be eight or nine fathoms of water close to it. It is about three hundred yards wide in this part; and I am of opinion that the two adjacent towns, together with Hyammah, could not raise more than four hundred and fifty men, and not more than two hundred muskets. I passed close under the town, and had the full power of steam on at the time. So sudden, indeed, was my appearance, and so short the time that elapsed until the vessel was out of sight, that the natives had not time to recover themselves from the surprise.

Since leaving Addacoodah, it had been my intention to hasten down the river without letting the natives have any suspicion of my approach. In this I happily succeeded; and the natives of Hyammah and the other towns had no opportunity of uniting their strength, although they had prepared to do so.

At 9. 30 P. M. we anchored in Louis' Creek, where our ears were saluted by the noise of the surf on the beach. The night being dark, I deemed it imprudent to attempt to proceed any further till day-light. At ten in the morning of the next day we got under weigh, and at 12. 15 anchored off Barracoon House, in the River Nun, after having been only thirty-two hours fifteen minutes under weigh from Iddah.

In the fulness of our joy at beholding again this well-remembered spot, we simultaneously gave three hearty cheers for our safe return. I sent the boat ashore with Mr. Brown to Cassa, the pilot town, to inquire if there was a letter for me. Mr. Brown returned, and said that a person named Footman, who was then working in the bush, had a letter for me; but he would not return till the next day.

Sunday, June 29th, the pilot Footman came on board, bringing a letter from Col. Nicolls, addressed to me, which had been left two months before, in which I was informed of the melancholy death of Mr. Lander, who had expired in consequence of the wounds he received at Hyammah.

"DEAR SIR,

"You no doubt will be much annoyed at hearing that Mr. Lander died of the wounds he received in an attack that was made upon him in a most treacherous manner by the natives of Hyammah. I am in hopes that this may reach you at Eboe, as it will put you on your guard. As you pass, keep well in the centre of the river, and, if possible, steam quickly past them. I send this to King Boy, with a request that he will forward it to you. Come with all your people as soon as you can to Fernando Po, and my best wishes herewith to ensure your safe return, &c. Tell Brown his wife was taken, but I understand King Boy has ransomed her. I shall see him in a day or two, and will write you again. Hoping to see you soon, and in good health,

"Believe me to be truly yours,

"EDWARD NICOLLS,

"Lieut-Col. Commander and Superintendant.

"Quorra, in the Nun, April 24th, 1835.

"To Surgeon Oldfield, or the Officer in charge of the African Inland Company's Affairs in the River Niger."

It will be seen that the rascally pilot Footman had detained this letter until my arrival. His excuse was, that "King Boy savy book; him no want him.*" Poor Lander! he fell a victim to his too great confidence in the natives. Had his generous heart allowed him to be more suspicious, and better prepared against their treachery, he would have escaped their murderous designs, and would have remained, as he had lived in the esteem of those who knew him, a valuable member of society, and an enterprising, and persevering traveller.

The natives of Cassa informed me that Mrs. Brown and child, the persons alluded to in Lander's letter to me received on the 29th March, and the boy Robert, a native of Eboe, (obtained at Sierre Leone,) had been ransomed by King Boy, and delivered over to Colonel

* This man was a great thief. At one of his visits on board the Columbine, he contrived to steal a blue jacket. On a subsequent visit, he was accused of the theft, and very properly placed in irons by the captain. He kept constantly saying, "I no fool man, dottor (doctor): what for you put me in irons?" This palaver did not avail, and as it was proved he had stolen the jacket, he was sentenced to pay a fine of seven goats. After remaining in durance vile two days, he sent a token by Mr. Robb, mate, to one of his wives; when the fine was paid, and he was liberated.

Nicolls at Fernando Po. On my arrival at this place, Colonel Nicolls informed me that Mrs. Brown preferred waiting at Brass with King Boy until the arrival of her husband with the vessel. Not being aware of this, I left the Nun with the impression that the poor woman was at Fernando Po. According to the statement of the natives of Cassa, Colonel Nicolls intended taking steps to obtain her and her child from King Boy.

On the 30th June, the Kroomen and people were engaged in procuring a supply of fuel, and took down the houses fore and aft.

At 7 A. M. on the 1st of July, we crossed the bar of the Nun, and found it very rough : a heavy swell was on at the time, and a strong easterly current nearly set us amongst the breakers. The wood was damp, and the steam not half up ; so that our situation was anything but safe. The natives were on the look-out on shore, no doubt praying for Ju-ju "to send ship for shore for break," as they express it ; and it was with no little satisfaction I found the vessel fairly in blue water, out of the reach of the breakers.

After leaving the Nun, we were tossed about with squalls of wind ; the weather was very foggy,

and no sun was visible for three days. Our water was getting scarce, owing to the great consumption by the cattle; we had had no bread for eight months, and no spirits of any kind for seven.

When off Old Calabar river, at noon on the 8th, a brig was observed on the larboard bow, standing in shore. I had only two hours' wood on board, and thought it possible I might obtain a further supply from her. Supposing her to be a palm-oil vessel, I immediately ordered steam to be got up, and fired two guns. At the discharge of the second gun, her main-yard was thrown back, and on my getting near to her she hoisted the Spanish flag. She was a large Spanish brig, with nearly eighty men on board, and mounting six guns and a large carronade. I asked the captain, a short little man, for a supply of wood. He replied, he had none. I then asked him for a bottle of rum, for the men, who, with myself, were completely exhausted by fatigue. He replied, that the rum was at the bottom of the ship, and that they had no bread. I offered him goods or even a bullock in exchange, but he would not supply me with anything. He, no doubt, suspected us of being a tender to a man-of-war, or, probably, of being

the Pluto, which vessel had sailed a short time before. This vessel was a slaver, and would perhaps have taken between five and six hundred poor wretches.* The masters of slavers generally endeavour to be on the coast about the months of July and August, when the new yams come into season.

Owing to the attraction of the compass, we ran too far to the southward; and, after wandering about out of our course, we arrived at Fernando Po in the evening of the 9th of July.

The governor, Colonel Nicolls, invited me to his house, where I remained during my stay at Fernando Po. I have to express my thanks to that gentleman and Captain Becroft for their many kindnesses to me while there. The Kroomen were paid off, and the Alburkah was moored nearer the Quorra.

The brig Mars, Captain Irving, was expected to sail in a month after my arrival, and arrange-

* I have since understood this vessel was the Formidable, which was afterwards taken by H. M. S. Buzzard, after a severe action. On my arrival at Fernando Po, I found H. M. S. Pelorus, Commander Meredith: I gave him a description of the vessel, and at night he went in pursuit of her, as also did the Forrester, which arrived the same evening.

ments were made by Captain Becroft for my passage home in that vessel, and also for the shipping of the ivory.

On the 11th August I embarked on board the Mars, with two invalids from H. M. S. Pelorus, who were entrusted to my care by Mr. Stewart, the surgeon. We immediately got under weigh for England.

On the 16th August we crossed the line, and, according to the old custom, Neptune and his wife Amphitrite came on board, and performed the ceremonies usual on such occasions. There were two or three men who had not been visited by the old gentleman, and who had to submit to his rude treatment.

On the 20th August a boat was discerned on the larboard quarter. Captain Irving, supposing it might be some one in distress, put the ship about and stood for it. In the course of an hour we were nearly abreast the boat, which contained two black men, who appeared anxious to avoid the vessel, and pulled desperately away from her. A suspicion immediately arose on board that, being Kroomen, they had run away with a ship's boat. A shot was fired over their

heads; but this had no other effect than that of making them pull harder. The Mars' boat was then lowered, and the chief mate and four hands went into her. The blacks on seeing this jumped overboard; but the mate calling to them in a conciliating tone, they suffered themselves to be taken up in a state of exhaustion. They had the captain's boat-cloak up for a sail. When questioned, they said they had left the brig Amelia, Captain Glasscott, at four o'clock that morning, in consequence of the captain not having fulfilled his promise of leaving them at Fernando Po, and had made their escape during the morning watch. They also stated that the mate was dead. They were named Jack-Tom, and Bottle-Beer. The latter had a severe cut across his fingers, and was severely bruised and scalded: when I asked him how it happened, he said that the galley had taken fire, and he was injured in attempting to extinguish the flames. A piece of salt beef was in the boat: curiosity induced me to weigh it, which I did, and found it to be two pounds and three quarters only. They had no water in her; so that they must soon have perished had we not picked them up. Their

wounds were attended to, and feeling compassion for the men, who were in a state of nudity, as we got into a colder climate we supplied them with clothes.

It is rather remarkable, that the boat in which they were, was the identical one that I had sold to Captain Glasscott fifteen months before, at Fernando Po. It originally belonged to the Alburkah. I thought it rather singular to meet with it under such circumstances, and after such a lapse of time.

It appeared, afterwards, that these men were accused of the murder of Captain Glasscott: the full particulars were detailed on their trial at the Old Bailey, on Friday, March 6th, 1835, when they were acquitted. Their names on board the Amelia were Bottle-Beer, and Jack-Tom.

On the 8th of November, I landed at Falmouth, after a favourable and pleasant voyage. To Captain Irving I feel deeply obliged for his manifold and marked kindnesses to me, and for his very gentlemanly behaviour during the passage.

On the 18th, I reached London, but in a very

infirm state of health, having suffered much in my constitution from exposure to climate and all kinds of privation, and the only European left alive of the crew of the Alburkah who left Fernando Po in November.

END OF MR. OLDFIELD'S JOURNAL.

REMARKS ON OUR COMMERCE WITH AFRICA.

General Reflections on our Trade with Africa.— Its nature and extent.— Capital employed.— The Slave Trade.— Its baneful effects on Commerce.—The system of Head-money. —Plan for suppressing the Slave Trade.— Relations between Great Britain and Africa.—Duty of this Country towards Africa.—The great Advantages considered that would result from the total Abolition of the Slave Trade, and Free Trade with Africa established in its stead.—Comparisons.—A commercial Government recommended, and outline of the Plan proposed for it.

In offering a few remarks on our commerce with the coast of Africa—the injury inflicted on it by the unlawful interference of Spanish and Portuguese slave-traders—its probable increase when that interference is done away with, and the present state and future prospects of that country, I am aware that I labour under no ordinary disadvantage, arising from the numerous attempts that have been made to raise the character of the African, and the disappointment

that has invariably attended them. That such has been the case, is, I believe, admitted and regretted by all; and Africa still remains uncivilised and unknown, within six weeks' sail of Great Britain, a disgrace and reproach to the civilised world.

I consider it therefore my duty to state, as far as my ability enables me, the means by which, under Divine Providence, the civilisation of Africa might, in my opinion, be advanced, the happiness of her people increased, and the disgrace that attaches to my country diminished; and if in doing so I attribute more consequence to the extension and security of legitimate commerce than has generally been allowed by those who have taken an interest in the subject, it is because I believe it to be the great, if not the only means, in our power of civilising the world.

I propose briefly to show the importance of the present trade with Africa, the injury done to it by the slave-trade, and the increase that might naturally be expected on its extinction; the insufficiency and cruelty of the means at present employed in suppressing it; and to prove that it is the interest as well as the duty of Great

Britain to promote, by all means in her power, the civilisation of that country.

The trade with the west coast of Africa extends from the river Gambia to Angola, and embraces an extent of nearly four thousand miles of coast. It may be divided into the stationary and floating traffic; the former being carried on with the British settlements on the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Cape Coast Castle, and Accrah; the latter being on the principle of floating adventures, a vessel and her cargo being entrusted to the care of the captain, who trades up and down the coast, or enters some of the large rivers, where the cargo is bartered for produce.

The trade is essentially one of barter, British manufactures being exchanged for African produce; it is free and unfettered, the only custom-houses being at the European settlements, and its nature may be judged of from the following abstract of the imports and exports.

Exports to the western coast of Africa, British produce and manufactures (from Porter's Official Tables):

In 1827	£155,759
In 1834	326,483

Being an increase of 110 per cent.

Brought forward	£326,483
Estimated value of foreign and colonial exports	150,000
Total exports	476,483

Estimated value of imports in 1834:

Teak timber, 13,000 loads, at 8*l.* per load .	£104,000
Bees' wax, 3058 cwt. at 8*l.* per cwt. .	24,464
Hides, 5526 cwt. at 56*s.* per cwt. . .	15,742
Ivory, 2567 cwt. at 25*l.* per cwt. . .	64,175
Palm-oil, 13,945 tons, at 34*l.* . .	458,810
Dye-woods, cane-wood, bar-wood, &c. .	20,000
Gum Senegal and gum Copal . .	100,000
Gold-dust, 60,000 oz. at 4*l.* . .	240,000
Specie and bills	50,000
	£1,077,191

British shipping employed in the trade . . .	1820	22,387 tons.
	1834	68,046
Imports of palm-oil . .	1827	4,700
	1834	13,500

The value of the trade is therefore as follows:

Imports	£1,077,191
Exports	476,483
	£600,708
Labour and manufacturers' profit on British produce and manufactures, taken at 70 per cent. on £326,483	28,538
British labour, transit, and other charges on 150,000*l.* of foreign and colonial goods, at 25 per cent. . . .	37,500
Annual national gain	£866,746

The importance of the trade will be more clearly seen by comparing it with that of other countries. The direct export of British manufactures to the coast of Africa in 1834 was five times greater than that to Sweden, nearly five and a half times greater than to Norway, three and half times greater than to Denmark, and nearly two and a half times more than to Prussia. The British shipping employed in it was double that employed in the trade to Sweden, six times greater than to Norway, ten per cent. more than to Denmark, fifteen per cent. more than to Prussia, nearly double that to Turkey and the Levant, equal to the whole of the Brazil trade, and exceeding the total tonnage employed in the whale-fishery.

That a trade of this importance has a right to demand protection, not from fair and honourable competition, but from an illegal and brutalising traffic, will, I hope, be allowed by all. To prove it requires this protection, I will state a case that is constantly occurring, and which I have myself witnessed. In the Bonny, Calebar, and Cameroons rivers, there are always British ships loading with palm-oil and other African produce; their commanders and crews making every exer-

tion to complete their cargoes, and the natives actively engaged in collecting produce from the interior; the whole presenting an animated scene of honest and legitimate industry. A slave-trader arrives in the river: the trade with the British vessels is instantly stopped; the canoes of the natives are armed and equipped for a marauding expedition to procure the slaves; and until those slaves are procured, no legitimate trade is pursued. I submit that this involves a loss of British capital and life in the following way:—A vessel is despatched to the coast of Africa, to procure a cargo of produce in as short a time as possible. She arrives there, and in three or four months has three-fourths of her cargo on board, and the remainder contracted for—most probably actually paid for. A slave-vessel enters the river, and the consequences above detailed ensue: instead of finishing her lading in four months, and escaping with comparatively little loss of life, the fair trader has to remain until the smuggler's cargo is complete, and loses one half of her crew; the owner loses the interest on the outlay, suffers the depreciation of his vessel, and as a consequence, from his vessel being only

half manned, has to pay a higher rate of insurance on his voyage home.

I consider the direct annual loss to the existing trade, south of the Rio Volta, the part of the coast most frequented by slave-vessels, to be as follows:—

There are about fifteen thousand tons of British shipping employed in the palm-oil trade, which are sailed at the expense of about ten pounds per ton per annum.

The loss of time, depreciation of vessel, and extra insurance, at 3*l.* per ton . .	£45,000
The extra insurance on their cargoes, valued at 500,000*l.* at 2 per cent. . .	10,000
	£55,000

If this loss, which I believe to be much understated, was sustained by fair competition in a legal trade, there would certainly be no grounds for interference; but as it is a trade proscribed by all civilised nations, a trade for which millions of British money have been paid to the countries pursuing it under the express stipulation that it should cease, I consider we should be neither morally nor politically wrong in putting an end to that expenditure of British capital and

life at present going on, by adopting the only means which, when fairly tried, have never yet failed; namely, that of declaring the slave-trader a pirate. And is he not a pirate, and one of the worst description? Wanting the courage to steal himself, he stimulates the ignorant savage to steal and sell his brethren. The receiver is in this case infinitely worse than the thief. There would be no foreign slave-trade if there were no slave-traders.

The increase in the legitimate trade that might naturally be expected on the slave-trade being declared piracy can hardly be calculated; but I will state what I consider sufficient grounds for supposing it would be immense.

At present, the whole country is in a complete state of disorganisation, the inhabitants of each village warring with their neighbours. The consequence is that, except in the immediate vicinity of the towns, the land lies waste and uncultivated, as the natives are afraid of being carried off into slavery. The natural result of security of person would be security of property: this would lead to the extension of cultivation, or, in other words, would create a greater amount of

exchangeable value, at the same time increasing the salubrity of the climate. This would be the first effect of the extinction of the slave-trade on the social condition of the African. The export of slaves being stopped, the export of produce would increase, as the goods formerly exchanged for slaves would then be procured by produce—with this difference, that the slave, being exported, was lost as a producer and consumer, and only brought his first cost. To make this clearer I will state a case:—An able-bodied slave is at present worth about four pounds' worth of British goods, and when he is shipped he can produce nothing more.* But supposing he was kept in his native country, he might by very slight exertion produce one ton of oil per annum, which would be worth eight pounds, or purchase double the quantity of British goods.

Having thus, I hope, shown the way in which the stoppage of the slave-trade would benefit British commerce in Africa, I have now to show

* Of course an African can and does raise produce in Cuba and Brazils, which may be exchanged for British goods; but it is the labour of a slave and not of a freeman; and as far as the African trade is concerned, he is lost as a producer and consumer.

that Nature has bountifully provided the means of employing on their native soil any amount of population she might create.

The Delta of the Niger alone, if cleared and cultivated, would support a population in proportion to its area far exceeding anything known in Europe. Its square surface is equal to the whole of Ireland; it is intersected in all directions by navigable branches of the parent stream, forming so many natural channels for communication; it is altogether composed of the richest alluvial soil, which now teems with a rank and luxurious vegetation, comprising all the varieties of the palm-tree, besides teak-wood, cedar, ebony, mahogany, and dye-woods; the sugar-cane grows wild in the bush, and the palm-nut rots upon the ground unheeded and neglected. The population of this Delta I should consider does not exceed half a million.

Proceeding up the river, similar insecurity of life and property is visible; the same bountiful Nature proffering her gifts, and the devilish spirit of the slave-trade preventing their acceptance; the mighty stream rolling along, bearing on its bosom, not the tribute of legitimate commerce, but the unhappy victims of European cupidity;

boundless tracts of fertile land unoccupied, and the inhabitants either perched on the summit of a hill, or living in towns encircled by walls, instead of dwelling, to use the beautiful language of Holy Writ, "under their own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make them afraid."

Future ages will wonder at the mistaken policy (to use the mildest term) that has for centuries been exporting, at an enormous expense, millions of the inhabitants of the most fertile country under the sun to cultivate an inferior and more expensive soil!

The argument, that the negro if left to himself will not work, is soon disposed of—if indeed any can be now found to advance it. In 1808, the import of palm-oil did not exceed one or two hundred tons per annum: it is now nearly fourteen thousand tons, having been trebled in the last eight years. Twenty years ago, African timber was unknown in the English market: there are now from thirteen to fifteen thousand loads annually imported. I fearlessly assert, that there are no people on the face of the globe more desirous and capable of trading than the present race of Africans, with all their disadvantages; and it must be remembered, that the

trade that is at present carrying on has sprung up in spite of the slave-trade—that it has not been encouraged by any legislative protection, or forced to a precocious growth by any political causes, and that its increase has been sure and steady, affording the surest guarantee for its continuance. Taking, then, the capabilities of the country and the dispositions of the people, I think I am fully justified in asserting, that upon the extinction of the slave-trade, our commerce to that country will be extended to a degree that those only who know the country and the people can venture to hope; and in proportion to that increase will civilisation extend and the happiness of the people be increased. In making up, then, any account of the loss incurred by the foreign slave-trade, the value of the trade lost by the annual export of sixty or eighty thousand African producers and consumers must not be lost sight of: it is as legitimate a reason to bring forward that we are losing indirectly, as any argument that can be deduced from a statement of a direct loss.

The insufficiency and cruelty of the means at present used in what is called (ironically, I suppose) suppressing the slave-trade, is proved

from the rate of insurance charged in the Havanna upon slave-vessels, including the risk of capture; being only twelve and a half per cent. or one-eighth of the value;—the cruelty from the mortality on board the slave-vessels after capture, far exceeding that of the regular passage to the West Indies and Brazil.

One great cause of the impunity with which the slave-trader visits the coast of Africa is the system pursued of paying head-money for the number of slaves captured. This acts in the following way:—At the principal slave-ports, there are frequently six or eight slave-vessels lying with their cargoes ready to be shipped on board at an hour's notice. It is evident that the most effective plan of preventing the shipment of these slaves would be for the British cruiser to anchor off the entrance of the port and prevent the escape of the slaver; but with the present system, there is neither credit, promotion, nor prize-money, (though I am far from supposing that the latter has any influence with officers of the British navy when employed in the cause of humanity,) to be got by thus effectually stopping the trade. Everything, unfortunately, is made to depend upon the slaves being shipped and then captured.

The difficulty is not in keeping them in, but in enticing them out of port, taking the chance of capturing them afterwards; and the following plan has been found the most efficacious.

I will take the Bonny river as an instance, as being the best known and most frequented slave-mart. In the New Calebar and Bonny rivers, which have a common embouchure, there are generally from six to ten slave-vessels waiting for their cargoes. A British cruiser arrives upon the station, and, after reconnoitring the port, stands out apparently to sea, but in reality remains off the port, standing off shore during the night, and in during the day, until the entrance to the port is seen from the mast-head, when she immediately tacks to avoid being seen by the slaver. By this plan every facility is given to the shipment of the slaves, and the chances of the capture of the slaver may be easily calculated from the premium of insurance, which, allowing four per cent. to cover the sea-risk and underwriter's profit, leaves eight and a half per cent. or one vessel out of twelve for the risk of capture.

The simple plan is evidently to do away with head-money altogether; to anchor the cruisers at the entrance of the ports, which would effectually

prevent all slave-vessels leaving them with their cargoes; and to give the officers promotion, and the men double pay, for the monotonous and troublesome service they have to perform.

It will be objected to this plan, that upon a line of coast of four thousand miles in extent, there are so many shipping-places for slaves, that it would be impossible to guard them all, and that the trade would only shift its position. To this I can only reply, that all measures short of declaring the trade piracy must of necessity be imperfect; but that this is much superior to the present plan, and would certainly have the effect of keeping the principal marts of British commerce perfectly free from the direct interference of slave-traders, as it is self-evident that if the slaver found it impossible to escape capture, he would cease frequenting those ports that were strictly blockaded.

It would also save British officers from the disgrace of receiving prize money for saving their fellow creatures from bondage. What would be thought of paying the commander and crew of a British man-of-war five pounds per man for the remnant of some unfortunate crew they had taken off a wreck? Yet the two

cases are similar. The worst feature of the system is, that this head, or rather blood-money, is only payable upon the number of slaves landed at Sierra Leone, not upon those captured. This is equivalent to telling the world that, unless the British navy are paid for their humanity, they would take no trouble in preserving the lives of the slaves between the periods of capturing and landing them. The ridiculous feature is, that we pay more for the slaves to our own cruisers than we could purchase them for if we went openly to market: the only difference being that a British officer, instead of a native chief, receives the purchase-money. It is a curious fact, that the officers and crews of British men-of-war are the only persons who can, at the present day, legally realize the living cargo of a slave vessel. They are certainly confined to one market and purchaser,—Sierra Leone and the British Government.

If the system is to be continued, let the British navy be saved the disgrace of being paid for saving the lives of their fellow-creatures. Give them promotion, double pay,—anything is better than making their profits depend upon their humanity: or establish a separate class, a

lower grade, similar to our revenue cruisers, and call them by their proper name, "Slave Catchers."

When it is considered that the squadron upon the coast of Africa, the Mixed Commission Court, and the colony of Sierra Leone, have been established, defended, and kept up in the name of humanity, it may appear strange when I assert, that we have added greatly by those very means to the miseries of the African race, and that, under the impression that we were benefiting them, we have been their worst enemies.

I shall endeavour to prove, on the grounds of humanity alone, that we are bound to extinguish the slave-trade altogether, or to give up all interference with it; or if we must interfere, let us merely stipulate that the slaves shall be comfortably conveyed from one continent to the other.

By our present system we have made the slave-trade a smuggling one, and instead of the large and commodious vessels which it would be the interest of the slave-trader to employ, we have, by our interference, forced him to use a class of vessels (well known to naval men as American clippers) of the very worst description that could have been imagined for the purpose, every

quality being sacrificed for speed. In the holds of these vessels, the unhappy victims of European cupidity and British legislation are stowed literally in bulk,—where, to use the words of Commodore Hayes, R. N., "the men are chained in pairs, and as a proof that they are intended so to remain to the end of the voyage, their fetters are not locked, but riveted by a blacksmith; and as deaths are frequently occurring, living men are often for a length of time confined to dead bodies. I have now an officer on board the Dryad, who, on examining one of these slave-vessels, found not only living men chained to dead bodies, but the latter in a putrid state." The same officer tells us, "that it is no uncommon occurrence for women to be bringing forth children, and men dying by their side."

If the slave-trade was not a smuggling one, it is evident that the interest of the slaver would be to give very different accommodations to his victims. This is the first effect of our interference, and is felt by every slave that leaves the African coast; but double suffering awaits the unfortunate being who, captured by a cruiser, feels the iron grasp of the misdirected philanthropy of Britain. It is partly stated in the

fifth resolution of the select committee of the House of Commons on the settlements of Sierra Leone and Fernando Po:—

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the situation of the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone for the adjudication of captured slaves is highly inconvenient for that purpose, considering that the slaves are captured chiefly at the distance of eight or twelve hundred miles to the eastward, and that as a current constantly sets from west to east, the captured ships are sometimes eight or nine weeks, and on an average upwards of five weeks, on their passage from the place of capture to Sierra Leone; occasioning a loss of the captured slaves amounting to from *one sixth to one half of the whole number*, while the survivors are generally landed in a miserable state of weakness and debility."

I have before attempted to show the ingenious method by which the slave-vessel is enticed out of port: the chase and the capture are but additional proofs of the cruelty of the present system. The slaver is descried from the mast-head, and the cruiser makes all sail in chase. If she is near the port she has left, she tries to regain it, pitching the slaves overboard in their fetters to es-

cape condemnation: if not, she stands out to sea, trusting to superior sailing to escape. If this fails her, one more chance remains,—to commit her cargo to the deep, and brave the scrutiny. That this is often done, is on record. La Jeune Estelle, being chased by a British cruiser, enclosed twelve negroes in casks, and threw them overboard. In 1831, the Black Joke and Fair Rosamund fell in with the Hercule and Regule, two slave-vessels, off the Bonny River: on perceiving the cruisers, they attempted to regain the port, and pitched overboard upwards of five hundred human beings chained together before they were captured;—from the abundance of sharks in the river, their track was literally a blood-stained one. The slaver not only does this, but glories in it: the first words uttered by the captain of the Maria Isabelle, seized by Lieutenant Rose, were, "that if he had seen the man-of-war in chase an hour sooner, he would have thrown every slave in his vessel overboard, as he was fully insured."

If there is no time for these diabolical proceedings, and the slaver is captured after what is called "a gallant action," in which a little British, and a great deal of Spanish and African

blood is spilt, a prize-crew is put on board, and the vessel is sent to Sierra Leone for adjudication. The horrors of this voyage in comparison with the notorious middle passage may be stated thus: according to the resolution above quoted, the loss on the Sierra Leone passage is from one sixth to one half, or from seventeen to fifty per cent.; and by returns from the British consuls in the Brazils, the loss on 47,258 slaves embarked in Africa for the Brazils was 3,524, or rather more than eight per cent.

Comment upon these facts would be superfluous; they are conclusive as to the cruelty of the present means employed in what is called putting down the slave-trade. On the grounds of humanity alone, then, we are bound either to declare the slave trade piracy, or to legalise it. The guilt of the increased suffering of the unhappy victims consequent on their being stowed in smuggling vessels certainly lies at our door; and abhorring as I do the slave-trade, and aware as I am of the baneful effects it produces throughout the whole Continent of Africa, I would prefer seeing it legalised rather than the present ineffectual system of prevention should be continued.

There is another point in connexion with the chase and capture of a slave-vessel that I think calls loudly for the decided interference of the British nation. If the slaver resists, and in the action that ensues some of the crew of the British cruiser are killed and wounded, what is the result?—nothing, literally nothing. A slaver may, and does, fire into one of His Majesty's vessels with perfect impunity: the only remark made is, that he was a gallant fellow and deserved to have escaped. I defy any one to bring forward proof that any capital punishment has been awarded to the commanders, officers, or men of those vessels, (and there have been many of them,) who, in resisting British men-of-war, have wounded and killed any of His Majesty's subjects. Now a slaver is a smuggler by the consent of all nations—he has no right to resist the search of any authorised vessel of war. If in doing so, he kills and wounds any men acting in the discharge of their duty, surely he is liable to the same penalty that attaches to the man who in smuggling an anker of brandy falls in with the coast-guard, and in his resistance kills or wounds one of them. The English smuggler is hanged, the Spanish or Portuguese one escapes.

Is the life-blood of an Englishman of less value on the coast of Africa than on the coast of Kent? it would certainly appear so, as the blood of many a brave man has been shed with impunity in these encounters.

In the last few years nearly twenty actions have been fought between slavers and British cruisers: in every one, doubtless, English blood has flowed, and yet there is no instance of any punishment following. If the slaver had a right to resist, the cruiser had no right to take him; if he had not, he committed an act of piracy in firing into a British vessel, and ought to have suffered as a pirate. A man is hung for taking a few stores out of a vessel on the high seas; his more fortunate comrade fires upon the English flag, kills and wounds British subjects, and swaggers back to the Havanna with impunity.

Before visiting the coast of Africa, I had always supposed that some punishment was meted out to the crews of the slave-vessels, and was much surprised to find that they were turned ashore generally at Prince's Island with their clothes and personal property. This lenity acts in two ways; it affords a slaver who has lost a part of his crew an opportunity to re-man his vessel;

and to any one who wishes to turn pirate it gives a choice of desperate men, ready for any mischief and capable of any enormity.

The point I wish, and hope I have in some measure established, is, that all legislative interference short of declaring the slave-trade piracy must of necessity increase the inhumanity of the trade, without in the least degree diminishing it; that it is a case where a half-measure becomes a positive evil; and that it is the duty of all who take an interest in the welfare of the African race to oppose the ratification of all treaties with foreign powers that do not declare the trading in slaves upon the high seas under any pretence piracy.

That the interest and duty of nations, as well as of individuals, are inseparably connected, will be readily admitted; and that Great Britain is deeply indebted to Africa for wrongs inflicted on her, may perhaps be as readily granted; but although the assent is easily obtained to the general principle, yet it may be necessary more particularly to state why I consider we are called upon, more perhaps than any other nation, to endeavour to repair the injury we have inflicted on that country.

From the commencement of the sixteenth century to that of the nineteenth in protecting and fostering the slave-trade,—by legislative enactments, in granting premiums to the importer and bounties to the slave-holder, we endeavoured by all means in our power to demoralise and disorganise Africa. During that time we have been the means of destroying life to a frightful extent,—of desolating whole districts, of annihilating all the domestic relations, changing the love of parents for their children to that of animals for their offspring. We have introduced and fomented universal distrust amongst a people naturally confiding. We have refused to take anything from them but slaves, and have turned round and reproached them with indolence in not cultivating their own soil. We have debased and degraded them to the level of animals, and taunted them with mental incapacity. We have heaped on them misery and suffering, contumely and scorn. We have denied them instruction, and accused them of ignorance. We have abused them for idleness while fattening upon their labour, and have turned round with the Pharisee and said, "God, I thank thee, I am not such as these."

Can any one believing in the justice of our universal Creator—nay, any one merely conversant with the history of the world, doubt that for the blood and the sufferings—the misery and the tears of these Africans, a day of retribution will not sooner or later arrive? The present prosperity of our country is no proof to the contrary. We boast that the sun never sets upon our dominions. Fifty-years ago, Spain did the same; and where is she now?—her commerce almost annihilated,—her power as a nation despicable,—her people priest-ridden, demoralised and depraved, the very lees of a nation; her territory alternately scourged by domestic feuds or foreign foes,—governed in succession by fools or rogues. Let any one read the account of her cruelties in the New World and her history for the last half-century, and doubt, if he can, the retributive justice that awaits the oppressor who, blind to the consequences, perseveres in his oppression, neglects the opportunities offered by Providence for the expiation of his guilt, and whose punishment, though it may slowly, yet surely overtakes and overwhelms him.

On the principle of repairing the evil we have done and avoiding its punishment, it is our in-

terest as well as our duty to atone as far as lies in our power for the miseries we have inflicted on the African race; and although this principle has been acknowledged and adopted in the manumission of the West Indian slaves, I consider that we are by no means clear of the liability—that we have paid but the first instalment of the debt; that although the national guilt of holding human beings in bondage as animals is done away with, we have still to repair the misery which we created in acquiring that property.

As a nation, Great Britain has more advantages, greater privileges, and, consequently, greater responsibility, than any other nation. We are bound, then, to be foremost in making reparation for the injuries we have done Africa. If we enjoy greater freedom of person, security of property, educational and religious privileges, than others, it is only more imperative on us to impart them to our fellow-creatures. This is our great privilege, as well as our duty; and forming, as we do, but a portion, and that a small one, of the great family of mankind, it ought to be our chief pride that we have been selected by our Creator and furnished with the means of imparting to others the benefits which we enjoy.

On the ground, then, of the position we occupy in the world, if there were no other, we are bound to use our energies and resources for the promotion of the civilisation of Africa.

On the soundest principles of commercial policy, it is our interest to promote this desirable object. I have before shown the value of the present trade, carried on under great disadvantages: I will now compare the demand for British goods in a free African republic partially civilised, containing one million of inhabitants, with the exports to Western Africa with an enslaved population of thirty millions.

Exports to Hayti in 1834 . . .	£357,297
(Or seven shillings and twopence per mouth.)	
Exports to Western Africa . . .	£326,488
(Or twopence halfpenny per mouth.)	

This clearly shows what an immense field would be opened to British commerce if any advance was made in the civilisation of that country. The Haytians have no advantages of soil or climate over their brethren on the coast of Africa; they are of the same race, and, I presume, have the same natural abilities: but they have the advantage of being able to live in peace and security—an advantgae which they nobly purchased

with their blood, and which, (if it be true that the same causes produce the same effects,) when extended to Western Africa, will turn a howling wilderness into a fruitful field.

It must also be remembered that the Haytians are shut out from the British market by prohibitory duties upon their produce. The grand problem of free *versus* slave-labour would long since have been solved, if we had opened our ports to the coffee of the Haytians. Are we not bound in common justice to do this now?—shall we virtually keep back one of the finest islands in the world by shutting her produce out of the best market in the world? Surely some difference should be made in the duties upon the productions of freemen and those of slaves! The planters of Cuba and Brazil should be shown that we are willing to grant privileges to free which we refuse to slave-labour.

The duties upon all African produce should be reduced, if not abolished entirely. At present this cannot affect any interests: the present imports are the spontaneous productions of the earth, and peculiar to the country. Coffee would be the first article of export, raised by cultivation to any extent. Sugar requires too great an invest-

ment of capital to make it probable that it would for many years come into competition with that from the East or West Indies: even if it did, are we not bound to encourage the cultivation of a country we have rendered a desert? We granted bounties upon the importation of cargoes of human beings!—surely we can afford to import the produce of the soil duty free.

The high prices of colonial produce for the last few years have created throughout the country a very general feeling against the prohibitory duties upon the sugar and coffee of Brazils and Cuba. The people are told that, having paid twenty millions to the West Indians, they have a right to get their sugar and coffee from the cheapest market. Give the West Indians the same option, and this is true;—they can have no claim then for the exclusive possession of the British market.

What a splendid opportunity this gives the British nation of throwing open their markets to the produce of all free states, and keeping them shut against the slave-holders! thus proving to the world that we deny ourselves cheap luxuries, for the sake of granting a premium to those who abolish slavery in their country.

With the British market open, the slave-holding planters would soon find it their interest to abolish slavery: with the example of the British West Indies before them, they would see that it was possible to have a free, an industrious, and peaceable black peasantry, and thus by the quiet and silent operation of a revenue law, the slave-holding states in the New World may, I think, be made to perceive their true interest lies in using free labour.

Far different will be the result if the prohibitory duties are abolished without such a reservation: a stimulus would be given to the foreign slave-trade, which would double the importation of Africans; a premium would be given to the continuation of slavery, and a great injustice done to our own colonies. God forbid that popular clamour should ever force such a measure upon the legislature!

I consider it, then, the duty and the interest, moral and commercial, of Great Britain to promote by all the means in her power the civilisation of Africa. The application of those means is perhaps the most difficult part of the subject, and upon which there will exist the greatest diversity of opinion.

I shall endeavour to state what I consider the most economical and efficient method of proceeding, keeping in view the peculiar character of the people and the extraordinary formation of their country; and, deeply sensible of the importance of the subject, can only regret that the death of my lamented friend Dr. Briggs has prevented its being treated by a much abler hand.

An examination of the map of Africa will show that between the river Gambia and the mouths of the Niger there are no large navigable rivers by which the interior of the country can be reached with that safety, economy, and despatch so essential to mercantile transactions. From the want of roads and the absence of any regular system of government on the sea-board, land travelling is impracticable for Europeans, even if the climate would permit it; which melancholy experience has proved to the contrary: and the history of our settlements on the coast proves that they cannot have any material influence upon the habits and manners of the great bulk of the inhabitants.

It is evident, then, that the only means we can adopt with any probability of success lies in following the only channel which Nature has given

us, that of the river Niger—and thus, if I may use the expression, to turn the flank of Western Africa. I therefore propose that a chain of British posts should be carried up the Niger as far as Sego, and from there by Timbo to Sierra Leone, and to Barraconda on the Gambia; that the seat of government on the coast should be transferred from Sierra Leone to Fernando Po, and that the communication with the interior should be kept up by steam-boats from that point. This plan may at the first view appear visionary: I will endeavour to prove that it would be easy in execution, economical in practice, and most satisfactory in its results.

The second journey of my celebrated countryman Mungo Park, the great discovery of the Landers, and the ascents of the Niger narrated in the preceding pages, all prove that this river is navigable for three thousand miles. The reception which we met with, the freedom which we enjoyed from all molestation, sufficiently attest the peaceable and amiable character of the natives. But even if these people were inclined to oppose the occupation of different points on the banks of the river by our countrymen, they are incapacitated from doing so effectually on

account of the disorganised state of the country: and this circumstance, with the foregoing, proves the facility with which establishments might be formed in the most favourable positions for trade.

The positions which it is probable would be found to be the most favourable for trading establishments are, firstly — near Iccory market, where the country is high and apparently healthy; secondly—at the junction of the Shary; thirdly—at Rabbah; fourthly—at Boussa, where there would probably be a portage of a few miles; and at one or two points between that place and Sego: in all, from six to seven stations. At all these places there is abundance of unoccupied land, which could be purchased from the natives at a mere nominal rate; and in the part of the country I have myself been in, I am confident that such establishments would be hailed by them with a general feeling of good will; that the white men would be appealed to as umpires in all disputes, and as long as they conducted themselves with justice and propriety, would be looked up to with respect and affection.

There are two ways in which this might be

done with comparative economy: the one by merely establishing a trading post; the other, by acquiring a small territory and importing West Indian and American free negroes, who would bring with them the knowledge they have acquired in the cultivation of sugar and other tropical produce, and would form, in fact, agricultural schools for the benefit of the surrounding population.

If the first plan were adopted, I would recommend each post to be commanded by a captain, with two subalterns and a company of the African regiments; a force quite sufficient to maintain itself against any power that could be brought to bear upon it. The officers should be prohibited from trading, but should be allowed promotion after a certain period of service. The houses to lodge the parties in might be brought in frame from Fernando Po; and the erection of a stockade would be the only defence requisite—and that more for the purpose of preventing intrusion than from any apprehension of an attack.

If the latter plan were adopted, a civil establishment would be necessary, and consequently the expense would be considerably increased;

although there is no doubt that, if properly managed, it would be the most effectual way of improving the quality and increasing the quantity of African produce in the shortest time. In either case, all that is wanted are given points where the merchant may deposit his goods in security, to be exchanged for produce: private enterprise will do all the rest.

A reference to the map will show at once that either of these measures would prove most satisfactory in its results. By the Niger the whole of Western Africa would be embraced; by the Shary (which I have no doubt will be found navigable to the meridian of 25 East longitude) a communication would be opened with all the nations inhabiting the unknown countries between the Niger and the Nile. British influence and enterprise would thereby penetrate into the remotest recesses of the country, one hundred millions of people would be brought into direct contact with the civilised world; new and boundless markets would be opened to our manufactures; a continent teeming with inexhaustible fertility would yield her riches to our traders; not merely a nation, but hundreds of nations, would be awakened from the lethargy of cen-

turies, and become useful and active members of the great commonwealth of mankind; and every British station would become a centre from whence religion and commerce would radiate their influence over the surrounding country. Who can calculate the effect that would be produced if such a plan were followed out, and Africa, freed from her chains moral and physical, allowed to develope her energies in peace and security? No parallel can be drawn, no comparison can be instituted, between Africa enslaved, and Africa free and unfettered: and will the British nation, after forfeiting the lives of so many of her noble and intrepid sons who have perished in discovering the highway into her very centre, now stop short? Will not the blood of Park, of Clapperton, of Oudney, of Houghton, of Laing, and many other gallant men chronicled on the pages of African discovery as having fallen in its cause—will not their blood cry shame upon them if they do? I will not believe that my countrymen are so dead to their interest or to their duty as to neglect so favourable an opportunity of following both.

It has been said that Government having discovered the embouchure of the Niger, may leave

it to private enterprise to take advantage of. This is true to a certain extent. Private enterprise will do much, but it has a right to demand protection. Let the Government give it that protection by establishing stations upon the Niger, and the enterprise of British merchants will soon develope the resources of the country. British philanthropy will raise by education, the moral standard of the people; the religion we profess will pour its messengers, declaring "peace on earth and good will towards men" through the country. The standard of the Cross will be hoisted with the standard of our country; the blessings of Christianity will be diffused with the advantages of commerce, and a religion of benevolence substituted for one of blood.

It must be obvious that to carry into execution any such plan would require the system of government on the coast to be entirely changed. It is evident that as long as the present disorganised state of the coast of Africa continues, we can have no political relations with the natives of it. Our intercourse is (and long may it continue so!) purely commercial; and for that a commercial government is best fitted. The experiment has been successfully tried at Cape Coast Castle,

where the expenditure has been reduced from thirty thousand to three thousand five hundred per annum, and it might be adopted at the Gambia and Sierra Leone with similar results.

My proposal is to make the government head-quarters at Fernando Po, which, from its geographical position, is the key to Central Africa, and within a few miles of the great seats of our present commerce on the coast: it is also the only place upon the whole line of coast upon which hospitals and other conveniences could be erected, far above the reach of the coast fever, where invalids from the naval, military, and civil establishments from all parts of the coast might recruit their health in a pure and bracing atmosphere. The sovereignty of Fernando Po belongs to the Spaniards, who, having no settlement there, could not object to conveying it to us upon a proper representation being made: or if they did object, it could be taken possession of in repayment of a portion of the debt due to this country by the present government of Spain.

Supposing that the Gambia and Sierra Leone were put upon the same footing as Cape Coast Castle, I would recommend that a Governor-

general of the coast and the stations in the interior should be appointed; and that he, accompanied by the judges, should visit the different stations upon the coast every six months, and the stations in the interior every twelve months. This may be done with much more facility than is generally supposed. The establishment required would be a steam-vessel of about eight hundred tons for the coast service, and a river-boat for the interior; and the method of proceeding, as follows:—

Leaving Fernando Po on the 1st of January, she would reach the south-east trade wind, a distance of three hundred miles, in forty-eight hours, and Ascension, under canvass, on the 10th. Leaving Ascension for the Gambia on the 15th, she would arrive (the distance being about thirteen hundred miles) on the 22nd; leaving this place for Sierra Leone on the 6th of February, she would arrive there on the 9th; she would leave for Cape Coast on the 1st of March, where she would arrive on the 8th, and at Fernando Po on the 15th. The whole distance, which may be called four thousand five hundred miles, would thus be traversed in two months and a half, three-fifths of it being with a fair wind. Thus justice

would be administered without the bias that insensibly is acquired by the residence of the administrator in a narrow and confined colonial circle: complaints and disputes would be redressed and settled; the health of the governor, judges, and other officers connected with the government, would be preserved by the voyage, and their energies and usefulness remain unimpaired.

As our commerce extends along the whole line of coast, it is evident that the governor's periodical visits would have the effect of making it more secure, giving both to the European and African an impartial tribunal to which they could appeal in case of dispute or aggression from either side;—and, to our shame it must be said, the African is generally the party that requires protection.

In May the stations in the interior might be visited, the vessel returning in July, and the coast again in August and September. I am sure that any unprejudiced person, acquainted with the character of the Africans, will allow that such a course would do more to give confidence to the natives than any that has hitherto been followed, and that it would also insure

the efficiency of the government officers in all stations.

It is with great diffidence I venture upon the subject of the mental and moral improvement of the Africans; and yet, any plan for their civilisation would be incomplete without an extensive and sound system of education, one that would develope their mental energies, and raise their moral standard. I think we should consider Africa as an immense nursery, her sons as children, and ourselves as their teachers; and, leaving the adult population, combine all our energies in raising the character of the rising generation.

I would propose, in the first place, to establish at every British station extensive schools for rearing native teachers, combining with mental and moral cultivation, instruction in agriculture and the mechanical arts. Supposing seven, or even ten years, spent in educating five or six thousand of these African youths, brought from all parts of the continent, they would then return to their homes with the habits and manners of Europeans so indelibly impressed upon them, that they would raise the character of their friends and relatives to their own standard, in-

stead of sinking to theirs; at least the children of these men would be superior in mental capacity to the children of those who had never the advantage of any education.

Amongst the number, some would, doubtless, leave their fellows far behind; these should be encouraged in every way,—finish their education in England, be brought forward as medical men, or civil and mechanical engineers, and be taken into the British service. These men, with British habits and education grafted upon their African constitutions, would become our pioneers throughout Africa, and raise the emulation of their brethren by showing them that ability, though covered with a black skin, was appreciated and rewarded.

The eagerness with which the Africans thirst after knowledge is a very striking feature in their character: on the coast, great numbers have learnt to read writing from the captains of merchant vessels, but cannot read print. The late Duke Ephraim, chief of old Calabar, kept a regular set of books, yet could not read a newspaper. The schools at Sierra Leone and Cape Coast have done most, if not all, the good that has been done. I know an instance now of a captured slave, resident at Fernando Po, who has

sent his son to England for his education. All the chiefs upon the coast would gladly pay for the board and education of their children. In the interior, in every village where Mahommedanism is professed, the children crowd to learn to mutter Arabic prayers and scraps of the Koran. In America, it is well known that laws are enacted to prevent them learning: there is no question of the desire to learn, if they had the opportunity;—*that* we are bound to give them, with a free and liberal hand. If the Government of this country give security to the person, by establishing British stations in the interior, private benevolence would soon take advantage of the opening; but I consider that, as the Government, by its legislative enactments, has nationally deeply injured Africa, the expiation ought to be national; and that the national system of education, which they are now giving to their own children, should be extended to hers. In these times of economy the expense will be a ready excuse for delaying any great measure of African regeneration; and yet, those who will be the first to make use of it, have expended a million within the last few months in keeping a fleet in the Tagus, a squadron on the coast of Spain, and supplying

arms and munitions of war to keep two queens upon their thrones, who have broken faith with us in every treaty they have made for the suppression of the slave-trade; whose flags are the only ones that now cover the pirate and slaver; who are at this moment preventing the extension of our trade in Africa, destroying the lives of our seamen, neutralising the enterprise of our merchants, and putting us annually to an enormous expense with Mixed Commission Courts, preventive squadrons, head-money to the captors, and compensation-money to the captured.

What a glorious prospect would open upon Africa if the slave-trade was declared piracy, and the hundred thousand pounds now annually spent by the British Government, in adding to the cruelty of the trade, applied to the education of the people! The delta and valley of the Niger would soon become as fruitful as that of the Ganges or the Nile. With the negro there are no prejudices to overcome, no castes to be abolished, no written languages to throw obstacles in the way of truth, or to the general adoption of the English language.

We have the power in our own hands, moral, physical, and mechanical; the first, based on the

Bible; the second, upon the wonderful adaptation of the Anglo-Saxon race to all climates, situations, and circumstances,—a facility of constitution which has spread them from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico—which is fast peopling Australasia, and which has changed the government of a hundred millions of people in the East: the third, bequeathed to us by the immortal Watt. By his invention every river is laid open to us, time and distance are shortened. If his spirit is allowed to witness the success of his invention here on earth, I can conceive no application of it that would meet his approbation more than seeing the mighty streams of the Mississippi and the Amazon, the Niger and the Nile, the Indus and the Ganges, stemmed by hundreds of steam-vessels, carrying the glad tidings of "peace and good will towards men" into the dark places of the earth which are now filled with cruelty. This power, which has only been in existence for a quarter of a century, has rendered rivers truly "the highway of nations," and made easy what it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to accomplish without it. We are the chief repository of it: our mineral wealth, and the mechanical habits of our people, give us

a superiority over all others in the application of it. Can there be a nobler or more profitable application of it, than employing it to open up Central Africa? It might have been created for the purpose of affording us facilities for repairing the injury we have inflicted on her. By it the coast of Africa may be brought within a fortnight's sail from this country; by it her rivers may be explored and navigated in safety; by it may the mighty Niger be guided in a straight course to the sea, instead of spreading itself into countless and intricate channels; by this Proteus-like power, will the oil from her palms, the sugar from her canes, the timber from her forests, be rendered more valuable and marketable.

I cannot conceive my country in a prouder position than thus peaceably calling forth the energies and resources of a continent in one corner of which France is at present carrying on a war of extermination. Let the antagonist principles of force and persuasion have a fair trial, and there can be no fear as to the result.

In concluding this outline (for it must be considered merely an outline) of a plan for the civilisation and government of Africa, I beg that it may be distinctly understood, that as long as the

slave-trade continues, neither this nor any other plan can have a fair trial; that it would be a waste of money, time, and life, to adopt it or any other; and that the success of the plan hinges upon its extinction. I may be wrong in this opinion, and may have erred in the plan here proposed; but as I have no interest directly or indirectly with Africa, excepting a desire to promote her welfare and prosperity in common with the rest of my countrymen, and as I can neither derive benefit from its adoption nor be injured by its rejection, I hope I may be considered sincere in my opinion, and honest as to purpose in the plan proposed.

CONCLUSION.

Plan recommended for trading with Central Africa.

In the foregoing pages some account has been given of an attempt to open a direct trade with the interior of Africa; and in the hope that future adventurers in the same field of commercial enterprise may avoid the errors committed in that attempt, and profit by the experience resulting from it, it has been laid before the public. The same motive induces me to offer a few remarks on the means of bringing any future enterprise of this nature to a more successful issue: for although I am aware that, in proposing any plan, I am labouring under the disadvantage attending every one who, failing in his own speculations, feels the want of that weight which success alone would have given to his opinions, yet I consider that I should be remiss in my duty to myself and to my country if I did not state explicitly the causes which, in

my opinion, have led to the failure of the speculation I was engaged in, and the measures by which I think such causes may be partially and even wholly removed, and a profitable trade carried on with Central Africa.

The causes of our failure I consider to have been erroneous information respecting the trade with the interior, and a dependance on that alone for our returns, to the total neglect of the palm-oil trade, as well as our being the first Europeans who had had any trading communication with the natives.

I think that these errors might be avoided, and in a great degree overcome, by reversing the plan which we pursued; that is, by making the palm-oil trade the first, and the trade with the interior the secondary object. To carry out this plan, I would recommend two vessels of about three hundred and fifty tons to be fitted out for the palm-oil trade, and also to carry a small assortment of goods for the interior; to be accompanied by a steam-vessel of size sufficient to carry eighty or a hundred tons upon three feet water, and two trading-boats of iron, from fifty to sixty feet long, and six or seven feet wide.

On anchoring these vessels in the Nun, where they should arrive in the middle of January, trade should be commenced with the chiefs upon the coast in the usual way, and in the following manner with those in the interior:—

The steamer should be filled with trade-puncheons made up, and an assortment of goods for the Eboe and Iccory markets, and make a direct passage to the town of Eboe, which she would reach in three days. She would there land the trade-puncheons to be filled with oil, and proceed immediately to Attah and Iccory, where she would remain about three weeks. In this time two markets would be held; and one of the trade-boats should be left at the market-place under charge of a trade-man.

On returning to Eboe, the steam-vessel would receive and pay for the oil that had been collected, emptying it in bulk into the hold, leaving the puncheons to be refilled: she then would return to the vessels at the mouth of the river, into which the oil would be pumped. This proceeding might be repeated until the vessels were filled, which would most probably be in four months; then, after towing the vessels over the bar, the steamer should proceed to Fernando Po, and lie

up there, or return up the river to the junction of the Shary and Niger, trading and extending the connexion with the natives until the next season, when she would return to the coast to meet the vessels from England. This latter plan I consider preferable and would strongly recommend.

It is not to be expected that the first trip would be a profitable one; for I would recommend any price that may be asked to be given for ivory at the Iccory market, as every thing depends upon the first impression made on the native traders there.

These persons would spread the news of the arrival of the white men far and wide on their return to their homes in the various towns on the banks of the Niger and Shary, and the increased quantity brought to market would amply repay any sacrifice made at first. The highest prices that would be asked would not exceed one shilling and sixpence for teeth, and ninepence for scrivelloes; and at those prices one or two tons might be collected on her first voyage. The same principle applies to the Eboes. It is natural to suppose that some doubt would exist in their minds of the return of the

steam-boat at the time appointed; but after paying well for the first ten tons of oil, which would establish their confidence and stimulate them to exertion, any quantity would be obtained in the future trips.

The advantages of this plan I consider to be, that the extra risk beyond a common African trading voyage would be confined to the steam-vessel and her cargo; that a direct trade in their staple production would be opened with the Eboe people, rendering the loading of the vessels independent of the caprice and extortion of the chiefs upon the coast; that the safety of the passage to the interior would be insured and facilitated through the only part of the river where any danger may be apprehended; that the traders in the interior, assured of the regular return of the steam-vessel, and accustomed to the presence of, and to trade with, Europeans, would collect ivory and other produce in the certainty of the demand being equal to any supply they might bring to market: that thus the resources of Central Africa would be gradually developed, new wants would be created throughout her immense population, and their energies taxed to supply them; and that although for

the first few years little more may be done than repaying the current expenses, it holds out to those who enter into the trade, determined not to be elated by any temporary success, or cast down by unexpected losses, a prospect of creating in a few years an extensive and profitable traffic—one unfettered by tariffs, and which has not yet, nor is likely to be, blighted by legislature—one that only requires the extinction of the slave-trade to make it rank in importance with any carried on by British enterprise and capital.

It will be objected to this plan by those acquainted with the existing trade, that the chiefs upon the coast will refuse to supply oil to the vessels at the mouth of the river if a trade were carried on with the interior. Nothing, in my opinion, is more fallacious. As soon as they discover that a trade can be carried on without them, they will exert themselves in collecting oil from all the villages below Eboe and throughout the Delta, which it would not be the interest of, and in fact impossible for, Europeans to trade with direct. Trading direct with the Eboes will have the effect of making these people collect oil, and become competitors with the Eboes, upon whose industry they now subsist. As to their

open hostility, it is out of the question: their influence does not extend beyond their own towns.

I can safely assert that, as far as my experience goes, European traders will be received with open arms by all the inhabitants of the interior; that no hostility, but, on the contrary, every kindness and respect, will be shown to them; that their property and life will be as safe (excepting from the effects of climate) upon the Niger as upon the Thames; and that nothing prevents the Eboes and other nations in the interior trading direct with the Europeans upon the coast but the terror that a white man's name carries with it,—a terror which is artfully kept up by the chiefs upon the coast, and the disorganised state of the country produced by the slave-trade.

Another and more serious objection is, the risk of human life. I firmly believe that this in a great measure may be reduced by substituting as much as possible coloured men for Europeans. Four or five white men at the most are sufficient for the steam-vessel; the rest should be Kroomen and American negroes, plenty of whom could be got at Liberia. By the steam-vessel being constructed of iron, and her hold divided

into water-tight compartments, the necessity of taking coopers up the river would be avoided, as she would load the palm-oil in bulk; while the fact that, in the months of May, June, and July, (when she would be chiefly employed in the swampy country,) Mr. Lander and Mr. Oldfield were exposed for thirty-two days in an open boat ascending the river, proves that while the river is rising the risk of life is considerably diminished. It must also be considered that by facilitating and expediting the loading of the ships, the risk of life amongst their crews will be greatly lessened; as it is well known that comparatively little mortality is experienced until after the fourth month of the arrival of vessels upon the coast. After that time, the risk increases in a terrific proportion.

In carrying on this trade, it would perhaps eventually be necessary to have a station in the interior, and an establishment on the comparatively healthy island of Fernando Po. In this case, by leaving the trade-boats in the river, and employing the steam-vessel during the absence of the palm-oil vessels in trading to the numerous rivers to which that magnificent island forms

the key, the extra expense of keeping up an establishment for carrying on an intercourse in the interior would be materially lessened by the profits which the steam-vessel might make in the coast-trade.

A LIST OF THE MORTALITY ON BOARD THE QUORRA AND ALBURKAH.

ALBURKAH.

Joseph Hill, captain.
Josiah Jones, mate.
William Unwin, carpenter.
William M'Kensie, boatswain.
Joseph Drakeford, engineer.
James Smith, fireman.
John Gelling, ditto.
John Smith, ditto.
James Smith, cook.
Abraham, boy.
Joseph Huntingdon, second mate.
Francisco, seaman.
Hugh Dunlevie, engineer.
William Miller, carpenter.
Samuel Harvey, seamen.

QUORRA.

G. L. Harries, R. N. captain.
James Goldie, first mate.
William Edelstone, second mate.
Thomas Belfrage, gunner.
Hugh Cosnahan, seaman.
William Gardner, ditto.
William Morgan, ditto.
James Breen, ditto.
William Davies, ditto.
James Swinton, carpenter.
John Addy, cook.
Master A.G. Clark, apprentice.
Duncan Campbell, fireman.
John Johnson, ditto.
William Ramm, cabin steward.
John Gillingham, second ditto.
Walter Millar, first engineer.
George Curling, second ditto.
John Grey, boy.
James Fardey, cook.
Thomas Parry, boy.
Richard L. Lander.
Thomas Briggs, Esq. M. D.
Richard Jordan, clerk.

Between eight and ten Kroomen died, chiefly from poison.

SURVIVORS.

ALBURKAH.

R. A. K. Oldfield, surgeon.
Thomas Orford, seaman.
Charles Jeffreys, coloured man.
Thomas Sarsfield, steward.

QUORRA.

Lieutenant W. Allen, R.N. passenger.
Macgregor Laird.
Alexander Hector, purser.
Thomas Harvey, seaman.
William Kirby, ditto.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER

Kept on board the Columbine, River Nun, for the months of February, March, and April, 1833.

R. A. K. OLDFIELD, Surgeon.

Feb.	8 A. M.	12 Noon.	4 P. M.	REMARKS.
18	83 1/10	85	84 4/10	Strong breeze from the westward.
19	83 1/10	84 4/10	84	Gloomy day.
20	83 4/10	85	86	Fine day.
21	83	85	84 1/10	Fine day.
22	83 3/10	85	84	Strong breezes all day from the westward.
23	83	81	80	Tornado. Thunder and lightning, with rain.
24	82	84	83	Cloudy morning; fine afternoon.
25	82	84 4/10	83 4/10	Rain; dark gloomy day.
26	82 4/10	82	79	A dull morning; clouds overcast, heavy rain with thunder and lightning from the westward: wind high; tornado lasted one hour and a half. Extremely dark.
27	81	82	83 4/10	Fine day.
28	82	84 4/10	84	Fine day; strong breezes at intervals from the south-west.

METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER—(*continued*).

March	A. M. 8	Noon 12	P. M. 4	REMARKS.
1	96 4/10	89	86	Fine morning; strong breezes from the north-west; noon gloomy; dark dull afternoon, with rain; fine night.
2	96	99	85	Strong breezes from north-west; noon gloomy and dull; 3 P. M. thunder and lightning, with rain.
3	96	108	87	Strong breezes; fine morning; afternoon fine; 5 P. M. very dark and dull, rain.
4	97	106	85	Cloudy morning; fine afternoon; 5 P. M. rain, with strong breezes north-west.
5	97	108	86	Morning dull; fine afternoon; strong breezes north-west.
6	96 4/10	103	87	Very fine; strong breezes north-west.
7	95	107	90	Dull morning, with rain; noon fine; strong breezes all day from the north-west.
8	97	106	90	Fine morning; noon fine; strong breezes all day from the north-west.
9	93	104	85	Dull morning; noon very dull, with little wind; 2 P. M. a strong breeze sprang up from north-east, followed by rain, thunder, and lightning.
10	95	108	90	Fine morning; strong breezes all afternoon; atmosphere dull and hazy up river; distant thunder.
11*	84	82	82	Dull morning, with heavy rain; afternoon sultry, wind south; evening, strong breezes from the westward.
12*	84	85	85	Dull morning; fine day; wind westerly.
13*	84	87	85	Fine morning; sultry afternoon; wind westerly.
14*	85	86	84 4/10	Rain at 4 A. M.; dull morning; cloudy afternoon, with thunder.
15*	85	86	83	A sultry and cloudy morning; thunder and lightning, with rain; strong breezes from the south-west; heavy claps of thunder at 10 P. M.
16*	89 8/10	99	86	Fine morning; rain at 4 A. M.; fine day; wind westerly.
17*	82	83	83 4/10	At 4 A. M. commenced raining, and continued until 11 A. M.; the rain poured down without intermission; no wind; sultry.
18*	84	85	84	Dull morning; fine weather; very strong breezes south-south-west; strong breezes all night.
19*	87	98	88	Fine morning; cloudy evening, with strong breezes from the south-west; rain for two hours at night.
20*	86	82	82	Heavy rain all morning; foggy; rain during the afternoon; strong breezes at night; wind north-east by south.

21*	89	90	85	Dull morning; showers during the day; full moon 11 A. M.
22*	92	87	86	Dull and cloudy, with distant thunder; evening, lightning in the eastward; wind north-east.
23*	88	92	92 8/10	About 4 A. M. tornado from the north-eastward; began to rain at 4 A. M. and continued until 11; day sultry, morning raw and cold, no wind.
24	108 8/10	100	106	A fine day; little or no wind until evening, when a breeze sprang up from the south-west; evening cloudy.
25*	90	88 8/10	84	A little rain about 4 A. M.; fine morning; wind north; showers of rain from 11 until 2 P. M.: afternoon dull and cloudy; hazy atmosphere and sultry; no wind; frequent flashes of lightning in the eastward.
26*	84	83	86	Dull morning; at 9 A. M. violent tornado with rain until 1. 30 P. M.; atmosphere thick and sultry: the darkness from 9 A. M. until 1. 30 P. M. was so great, that a book with large type could not be seen, to read distinctly; afternoon and evening cloudy.
27*	92	88	75	Very sultry; atmosphere thick and humid, with threatening rain; 1 o'clock showery; rain three hours; 8 P. M. lightning, strong breezes west-south-west; 8. 30 P. M. rain.
28*	82	76	76	A fine day, dull at intervals, strong breezes from the north-west; evening, a little rain.
29*	84	85	77	Dull morning; sultry; noon cloudy; rain with lightning.
30*	88	86	85	Dull morning, a little rain; 4 A. M. lightning and thunder; afternoon cloudy.
31	92	118 8/10	88	Fine morning; afternoon rather dull, with distant thunder; strong breezes in the evening from west-south-west; sun vertical.

The * denotes the temperature of the cabin; those not marked, the temperature of the round-house on deck.

Strength of the current, six knots.

OBSERVATIONS.—There have been twenty-one rainy days; ten days fine afternoons, and sultry mornings. The mornings have been excessively hot; the atmosphere before rain and of an evening, very cold.

METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER—(*continued*).

April.	A. M. 8	Noon 12	P. M. 4	REMARKS. Thermometer placed under the round-house on deck.
1	95	—	92	A fine morning, strong breezes; 4 P. M. showery; fine night.
2	—	—	—	Sick, A very wet morning; day gloomy; atmosphere humid.
3	—	—	—	—— Rain.
4	—	—	—	—— Fine day.
5	—	—	—	—— Showers during the day; 7 P. M. commenced raining, and continued several hours; strength of current, eight knots.
6	—	—	—	—— 4 A. M. rain since last evening at 7; fine during the day.
7	110	110	106	Fine day; gloomy at intervals.
8	112	110	96 $\frac{5}{10}$	Fine day; thunder; a little rain fell; vivid lightning.
9	100 $\frac{8}{10}$	85	85	Showers during the morning, with thunder; 6 P. M. tornado, with heavy claps of thunder: the lightning was very vivid, so much so as to illuminate the sea for miles round: thermometer fell to 79.
10	89	101	85 $\frac{4}{10}$	Morning gloomy; dull afternoon.
11	94	105	86	A fine clear day, with occasional breezes from the westward.
12	—	110	86	A fine day; very little wind.
13	96	112	86	Between five and six this morning very heavy rain for two hours; day fine, with occasional breezes from south-south-west.
14	101	113	90	Fine day.
15	96	110	86	Fine day, with strong breezes south-south-west; cloudy night.
16	94	111	85	Fine morning; cloudy afternoon, with rain.

17	80	96	88	Tornado with heavy rain for one hour and a half.
18	90	98	90	Gloomy day.
19	96	95	95	Showery; heavy rain at 1 P. M.; vivid lightning.
20	99	98	96	Very heavy rain in the morning; showery during the remainder of the day.
21	110	103	95	Fine morning, with continued breezes during the day; wind south-west.
22	—	—	—	Sick.

OBSERVATIONS.—Twelve rainy days out of twenty-one. The strength of the current increased two knots since last month; when the rainy season commenced in the interior.

Strength of the current at spring tides, four and a half knots. At the time of, and after heavy rains, five and a half, six, and eight knots.

Average strength of the current at full moon, three and a half knots.

At full and change of moon, high water at half-past six.

The ebb tide runs seven hours; flood tide, five hours. Perpendicular rise of the tide, nine feet.

The sea-breeze in general sets in at nine or ten o'clock in the morning.

MONTHLY METEOROLOGICAL JOURNAL

Kept on board the Alburkah, commencing August 1833, and ending July 1834. By R. A. K. Oldfield.

Date.	Mean temperature.	Range.		Prevailing Winds.	REMARKS.
1833.					On the Niger.
August	81 $\frac{8}{10}$	70 to	86	South, S.W.	Heavy rains and tornadoes.
September	88 $\frac{1}{10}$	68	102	Westerly.	Ditto ditto ditto. The Niger began to fall on the 22nd, and on the 25th had fallen three feet.
October	84	68	94	E, E.N.E, S.E.	Heavy rains at night; days sultry; tornadoes from the south-east. In the upper country, above Eboe, the rains ceased about the middle of this month; but in the Eboe and lower country approaching the sea-side, the rains continued a month later.
November	80	—	—	—	At Fernando Po. Rain on alternate days.
December	80	66	90	Calms.	Very heavy dews, constant thick fogs, very sultry; rapid vegetable decomposition from the receding of the river.
1834.					
January	86	68	94	East, generally calm.	Misty hazy atmosphere.
February	86	68	96	Ditto.	Ditto, on the 5th. Heavy gale and rain without intermission for eight hours; the natives informed me, the first rain for five months.
March	87	66	98	S.W. & S.	Mornings foggy; clear afternoons; 24th, lightning in the eastward; rain for twelve hours, an interval of three weeks from the first rain; lightning every evening. From this time the rainy season sets in.
April	88	68	98	W. N. W.	Rain about once every six days, with tornadoes from the eastward.
May	88	68	100	South, & S.E.	Rain every forty-eight hours, preceded by violent tornadoes.
June	89	69	102	S. E.	Tornadoes from the eastward; heavy rains and violent tornadoes.
July	80	—	—	—	At Fernando Po. Rain on an average every third day.

Note.—The perpendicular rise of the Niger measures, on the cliff at Iddah, from fifty-seven to sixty feet, for the years 1833 and 1834.

VOCABULARY.

English.	Houssa.	Kacundah or Shabbe.
1	Dia'h,	War'nee.
2	Bu',	Hoo'swar'ba.
3	Wu'ku,	Hoo'swar'tar.
4	Fu'du,	Hoo'swar'nee.
5	Be're,	Ar'rcke.
6	Shid'da'h,	Hoo'ātwar'nee.
7	Boc'qua,	Hoo'ātwar'ābar.
8	Tock'quas,	Hoo'artrioas'sa.
9	Tur'rah,	Tuar'nee.
10	Go'mar,	At'chab'ba.
11	„ sha dia'h	„ war'nee.
12	„ sha bu'	„ hoo'swar'bar'nee.
13	„ sha wu'ku,	„ hoo'swar'tar'nee.
14	„ sha fu'du,	„ hoo'swar'nee.
15	„ sha be're,	Wor'gee.
16	„ sha shid'da'h,	„ bar'war'nee.
17	„ sha boc'qua,	„ hoo'swar'bar'nee.
18	„ sha tock'quas,	„ derswar'tar'nee.
19	„ sha tur'rah,	„ bars'warnin'nee.
20	Asher'een,	At'charinee.
21	„ d' dia'h,	
22	„ d' bu',	
23	„ d' wu'ku,	
24	„ d' fu'du,	
25	„ d' be're,	Achartoo.
26	„ d' shid'da'h,	
27	„ d' boc'qua,	
28	„ d' tock'quas,	

English.	Houssa.	Kacundah or Shabbee.
29	Asher'een d' tur'rah,	
30	Thalāteĕn,	Achartuar'nee.
35	„ d' be're,	
40	Ar'r'bine,	Ar'quor'qee.
45	„ d' be're,	
50	Um'sene,	Ar'gāshee.
60	Settene,	„ d' shabbarnee.
70	Sar'bāng,	„ d' shar'ninnee.
80	Tam'ār'nine,	„ d' tuar'aninnee.
90	Tis'sēne,	Worshinnee bow'gūarnee.
100	Da'rēe,	A'sharăbar.
150	„ d' um'sene,	
200	„ bu',	Bow'quo.
250	„ bu' d' um'sene,	
300	„ wu'ku,	Bow'quo b' shar'barnee.
400	„ fu'du,	„ ashatuas'so.
500	„ be're,	A'shoco'coo.
600	„ shid'da'h,	Bowqu'arter.
700	„ boc'qua,	„ d' shar'barnee.
800	„ tock'quas,	Bow'quinnee.
900	„ tur'rah,	„ d' shar'barnee.
1000	Zum'bra'h,	Ar'guyshashee.
1100	„ du'rēe dia'h,	
1200	„ „ bu',	
1500	„ „ be're,	
2000	„ bu',	A'shibba.
3000	„ wu'ku,	Barquoo'bar.
4000	„ fu'du,	Barwornee.
5000	„ be're,	Barquoo'swarnee.
6000	„ shid'da'h,	Barcoo d'aswinnee.
7000	„ boc'qua,	„ d'astarnee.
8000	„ tock'quas,	Barwodana, Barwodana barshee.
9000	„ tur'rah,	Barshee d'artwinnee.
10,000	„ gomar,	„ d'warnee.
15,000	„ gomar sha be're,	

English.	Houssa.	Kacundah or Shabbee.
20,000	Zum'bra'h asher'een.	
30,000	„ thalāteĕn.	
40,000	„ ar̄r'bine.	
50,000	„ um'sene.	

	Houssa.
Elephant,	Gee'waw.
Lion,	Zi'key,
Leopard,	Darmassa'h.
Camel,	La'coom.
Horse,	Door'kie.
Ass,	Sar'kee.
Wolf,	Qwo'rh.
Bullock,	Sahr̄.
Cow,	Shari'rio.
Pig,	Glu'sooni'ne.
Ostrich,	Zim'mina.
Ewe-sheep,	Rag'gō.
Ram,	Cōrŏ.
Billy-goat,*	Boo'suloo.
She-goat,	Ac'quere.
Turkey,	Cassa, Yarriba.
Duck,	„ „
Fox,	Moo'zru.
Dog,	Cur're.
Cat,	Moo'sah.
Antelope,	Do'moh, or Moo'ca.
Fowl,†	Cassa.
Bird,	Tune'see'ah, and Tune'sigh.
Snake,	Matche'gee.
Land-turtle,	Coon'crugh.
Wake-turtle,	Kar'fe'fe'ăh.
Fish,	Kee'fee.
Crocodile or alligator,	Cad'dăh.
Hippopotamus,	Gewaw roa, and Dorena.
Fowl's egg,	Qua'n cassa.

* Nufie—Err'ārqee.

† Nufie—Bee'she.

English.	Houssa.
Feather,	Gāshy.
Elephant's tooth,	Ac'quila ge'waw.
Man, or husband,	Mid'gee.
Woman,	Māchy.
Boy,	Yarrow.
Girl,	Yar'rea.
Maid,	Bood'rūah.
Old man,	Soho mid'gee.
Old woman,	Soho māchy.
Hair,	Gar'shee.
Head,	Ky'.
Face,	Fisca.
Eyes,	Edar'noo.
Nose,	Han'chee.
Mouth or lips,	Bi'ky.
Teeth,	A'quile.
Chin,	Tchinpa'ttah.
Ears,	Coōnee.
Neck,	Wee'ah.
Throat,	Congro.
Shoulder,	Carfudah.
Stomach,	Ker'rishie.
Breast,	Cur'rashee.
Beard,	Gāmee.
Heart,	Dootchēa.
Belly,	Chickee.
Thighs,	Tcheen'ya.
Penis,	Boo'lah.
Vágina,	Doo'lee.
Ribs,	Ac'cunkurree.
Navel,	A'chibbia.
Tongue,	Al'siah.
Backside,	Gu'tchu.
Forehead,	Gar.
Leg (or calf),	Ma'dangēle'.
Foot,	Kar'farr'fŏo.
Upper arm,	Dum'matchee.

English.	Houssa.
Elbow,	
Lower arm,	
Hand,	Han'ooh.
Fingers,	Pha'rāchy.
Knee,	Gue'wah.
Toes,	Ap'prāchee.
Bowels,	Tom'bea'h.
Testicles,	Tchu'arwoo.
Foot,	Tar'pesai.
Looking-glass,	My'dōobe'.
Musket,	Abindiggā.
Pistol,	Quoter fiska.
Powder,	Al'barūde.
Sword,	Toc'qūobe.
Knife,	Wooka.
Razor,	As'ker.
Penknife,	As'ker.
Scissors,	Al'mākashee.
Steel bits,	Liz'an̄y.
Bason,	Tas'sah.
Pewter bason,	Tas'sah.
Plate,	Tas'sah.
Snuff,	Tar'ba.
Snuff-box,	Buttat tacbee.
Flint,	Doo'tchēe.
Gun-flint,	Dootchēe atindigga.
Rock, bead, or stone,	Doo'tchēe.
Silk,	Al'ākreen.
Sewing silk,	Lar'rĭga.
Sewing cotton,	Ta'rĕā.
Spoon,	Tchockōlee.
Muslin,	Woo'derry, and Alcumar'er.
Cloth,	Ta'ny.
Negro bell,	Gulză.
Umbrella,	La'r̄mer.
Tobacco,	Tarba.
Iron,	Kerrifee.

English.	Houssa.
Steel,	
Silver,	Az'rūfer.
Gold,	Te'nāriar.
Copper,	Djar currafee.
Lead,	Der'rimar.
Woollen cloth,	Mol'lifee.
Red cloth,	Djhar mol'lifee.
Green cloth, blue or black cloth,	Becky mol'lifee.
Striped cloth,	Taboh.
Ring,	To'bȳ.
White baft,	Phai'ree tany.
Tobe,	Kēga.
Short tobe,	„ tuggo.
Trousers,	Won'doh.
Bedstead,	Guddo.
Sandals,	Tackērim'mee.
Rum or any kind of spirits,	Bar'rissah.
Beer,	Geer.
Mat,	Tab'blimah.
Turban,	Arow'āny.
Hat,	Mol'lifah.
Indigo,	Barba.
Black pepper,	Mus'so'ro.
Red pepper,	Ton'quo.
Paper,	Tac'rida.
Ink,	Tur'dowa.
Honey,	Tumar.
A chest or trunk,	Sendook.
Cotton,	Ad'dōogah.
Calabash,	Coo'reer.
Salt,	Gee'sher'ee.
Trumpet or news-horn,	Kăkăkĕy.
Shoes,	Croo'phai.
Soap,	Sa'boo'ny.
Goods, or a load of any kind,	Kiah, or Kigh'a.
Paddle,	Prar'pree.

English.	Houssa.
Axe or hatchet,	Garter'ree.
Grindstone,	Dootchee nicka.
Iron pot,	Tookunyah kerrifee.
Hoe,	Ah'wĕyah.
Cap,	Foolah.
Brass,	Perrikerryfy.
Thatch,	Tchow'ăh.
Sour milk,	No'nŏh.
Fresh milk,	Mad'arah.
Canoe,	Thilligee.
Slate,	Akloo.
Lock and key,	Micoo'palee.
Black lead, sulphuret of antimony,	Tōsēely.
Bag,	Jickā.
Country bag,	Sum'po.
Cowrie,	Coodie.
Mug,	Cōc'o.
Chair or stool,	Coo'sarrah.
Fresh meat of any kind,	Narmah.
Fish,	Kēefee.
Indian corn,	Mas'sar'rah.
Ground corn,	Nicka mas'sar'rah.
Green corn,	Dan mas'sar'rah.
Small kind of corn, size of vetches, red husk,	Dow'ah.
Guinea-corn, seed kind,	Geer'ŏh.
Yams,	Do'yah.
Limes,	Lemmo.
Rice,	Cyn'caphar.
Ground nuts,	Goo'jia.
Pomatus,	Gowtah.
Pepper,	Ton'quor.
Occroes,	Koo'bey'wah.
French beans, or gubgubs,	Goo'gia.
Plantains,	Highbar.
Bananas,	Highābar.

English.	Houssa.
Sweet potatoes,	Dancserree, or Crocadooku.
Onions,	Albussah.
Water,	Ro'a.
Guinea-grains,	Chee'tah.
Soup,	Meāh.
Palm-oil,	Djhar mī,
Country cloth,	Gōdo.
Palm-nut,	Quar'quar.
Pink-coloured nut, bitter, *	Goor'oh.
Pounded yam,	Tooah, and Foofoo.
Calavances,	Wan'kee.
Sunday,	Al'zūmahr̄.
Monday,	Ass'erbertoo.
Tuesday,	La'hārdee.
Wednesday,	Etta'hleen.
Thursday,	Tillar'tar.
Friday,	La'ribba.
Saturday,	Al'har'm̄e.
A week,	Sub'bātoo, or Alzūmahr.
A month,	Wottar.
A year,	Sack'ar'rāh.
World, or news,	Dooma.
East,	Gubbas.
West,	Yam'ah.
North,	Ar'rewah.
South,	Goosen.
Sun,	Raḥ'nā.
Moon,	Wot'ta.
Stars,	Tune'rar'rah.
The day,	Quon'ah.
Half a day,	Ra'ah.
To-morrow,	Govie.
Early in the morning crowing cock,	Assubar.
To-day,	Yahoo.
Yesterday,	Dg̃iah.

* Eaten by kings and chiefs.

English.	Houssa.
This morning,	De Sarfee, Yow de Sarfee.
Middle of the day,	De rha'nāh.
Afternoon,	De mer'riche.
Evening,	De amma.
Night,	De derry.
Night is coming,	Derry'hi.
The day before yesterday,	Sec'ranjia.
The day after to-morrow,	Jebee.
What! all this time and not done yet?	A'rrēee on zu bāshee war'ryăh.
Give us a white man's (Arabic,)	Tūra' wa a wāzza.
God is great, and Mahomed is his prophet.	Allah, illa, illa Allah Māhomēdŏoro, sōora lafee.
I have, am, shall or will, I want,	Na'hr.
I shall be, or with	Na'hrr so.
With you, am coming,	Zo.
I'll make you,	Na'hrr zoing.
I did,	Na'hrr.
That, mine,	Na'hrr.
Cannot, or will not,	Kee, or Ackee.
Has he, she, or it; you, is, it, or its; have you,	Yah'rr.
Theirs, his,	Na'vsānee.
They are,	Su'ne.
Who, him, whose, whom,	War'nā, or Warninne.
You,	Kah.
He wants, or they want,	Na'hrr so.
Not, no, need not,	Barboo.
Where,	Innah.
That, this,	Wor'nay.
That, there,	Won'chan.
Able and can,	Ye'ahr.
Always,	Cooloom.
Patience,	An'choole.
Every day,	Cooloom, cooloom.

English.	Houssa.
I am not, shall not, or have not,	Barr-nee
I have no wish for it,	Barr-niso.
Let me have, him, or they,	Bar'nee.
Not able,	Barr'she'ear.
To give,	Basshe'e.
Not to give, or do,	Barr.
Given,	Backerr.
It 's not,	Barn'ah.
Dashed,	Bar'tah.
When, or at what time,	Wor'chay.
What else,	Mi'ninee coomah.
To take,	Quas'hee,
Taken,	Peed,
Won't, I cannot,	Kee, Nahrr'kee.
To speak, to speak on,	Peedy, Kapeedy.
Quite different,	De bum.
It 's short, is it,	Bi'ipābah.
Tell him or her,	Fud'de'mūssah.
Deficient,	Sowla.
Remain,	Rega.
How many deficient,	Sowla now'er.
Mine,	Now'ār.
Who said that,	Wor'ne yatchay.
I have told you not,	Pid'dimicca.
Who has told you,	Wha'rne yah piddimicca.
To take it off,	Dow'ka.
Pound, to bruise,	Dak'ā.
Count,	Kee'dah.
To come this way, to come here,	Yack'ā'nan.
I am coming,	Na'hrr sackā, or Na'hrr zo.
To bring,	Căhwo.
Fetch or lift,	Dow'kē.
You can bring it,	Kah cow'wo.
Can I, shall I bring it,	Ing cow' wo.
To go, going, gone,	Ya, tuffi.

English.	Houssa.
To let him, her, or it go,	Ce, billy, tuffi.
I shall not go,	Barr, ne, tuffi.
I'll make you go,	Nahrr so nig-teffee.
To flog,	Kar'scee.
I will give you a flogging,	Nahrr bashee kar'scee.
To come along with,	Talle de nee.
To go along with John,	Talle de John.
To look	Doo'bah.
See, saw, seen,	Ganny.
If you see,	Ka ganny.
I have seen, I saw,	Nahr ganny.
Let me look; see,	Me ganny.
That will do, enough,	Yisā.
To lay down,	Quontah.
That 's it, or the very thing,	Ce kīnăn.
Belong to, own, yours,	Warˇnee.
My own,	Nahr warˇnee.
Is it yours?	Yahr warˇnee.
It 's not mine,	Barr noˇvāba.
It 's not yours,	Barr nacka nibba.
All this time,	Arrcon zhu.
Good morning,	Sen'n̄u.
Immediately,	Ariˇzhu.
Respects,	A guy shaker, or guy scess.
Compliments,	Guy shaker.
To open,	Boo'dah.
To shut,	Ruˇpha.
Too warm, every close,	Zu'fah.
Thief,	Sai'tah.
To cover over,	Ru'far.
Butcher,	Phow'ah.
Cook,	Dūfoah.
Drummer,	Mˇkiddy.
King,	Sullikeen.
Market,	Cas'war.
Messenger,	Mansong.
Very good,	De'kow.

English.	Houssa.
Handsome,	Migh kow.
House,	Gadda.
Room,	Dackie.
Far,	Nei'sah.
Within, less,	Baĭboo.
To wash,	Wan'kee.
Sleep,	Breĕchēe.
Slave,	Bow'at.
Top,	Bee'sah.
To pour out, or in,	Zu'ba.
People,	Mouta'nne.
New,	Sab'bo.
Old,	Sohō.
To steal,	Ber'ow.
Robbed,	Ber'ow.
To put, wear,	Sah'r.
To write,	Re'bootu.
To stop,	To'coonah.
To break wind,	Tu'sah.
Broken,	Pa'sēy.
To sit down,	Zum'ne.
To purge, clear, clean,	Taitar.
Hot water,	Roa tha'rfe.
Cold water,	Roa say'ee.
To get up,	Tashee.
Lice,	Cur'roŏcool a.
Cold,	Dar'ley.
Dirty, filthy,	Dow'da.
None,	Bar'cee.
I don't know,	Ben'senibbah.
Half,	Leb'y.
Medicine,	Magōny.
Owner,	Macbook.
How many,	Now'ah.
Fine,	Phe'kow.
Clay or swish,	Kar'sah.
Lost,	Baita.

English.	Houssa.
Boiled,	Dar'pha.
Done,	Nu'năh, or nu'nĕr.
Wonderful, astonishment,	Gar'săh.
Husband,	Mid'gee.
Wife,	Mattah.
His wife,	Mat'tan'sah.
My father,	Wooba'rnah.
Father,	Woo'bah.
Mother,	Wah'nah.
Brother,	Dar'wonka.
Sister,	Dar'warn'er.
Son,	Dar'er.
Daughter,	Dar'nima'tchee.
To turn it,	Ju'ee'ah.
To seize,	Kamma.
Sew, sewing,	Doon'kee.
Busy sewing,	Shina doon'kee.
Sickness,	Chewaw.
Talking, or palavering,	Magun'nah.
Bad man,	Moogu mootŏm.
Sweetheart,	Preēka.
To accept,	Kar'rib'ba.
To forget,	Mantchee.
Hungry,	Kne'wah.
Not hungry,	Quai'see.
Proper, good,	Coo'ray.
To fan,	Bashee iska.
Can't eat,	Bar'ce che.
A cleared space of ground,	Gooan'āb.
To make, or work on a plantation,	In'numah.
Bush,	Croo'me.
No great consequence,	Woh'fee.
To inquire, question,	Tom'biah.
Where are you going?	Inna ka tuffi.
Exactly,	Akānan, maddah.
What is the matter?	Kai'ka.

English.	Houssa.
I thank you,	Na'gwadow.
How do ye do?	Connala fēah.
Very well,	Lar fēah.
Do you feel any better?	Delong-gorsee yow, yeōsee, yes.
I am fond of you,	Nahr zoneka.
To let it alone,	Kah billy.
If you see,	Kah ganny.
Nothing at all to you,	Bar'ruan'sah.
You pour it into, to empty,	Saitchy kah zuba.
Let it be quietly, and keep it so,	Ka billy, kiēdaty, ki-e-jay.
Put on your clothes,	Sahr zany.
To keep, take care of,	Ki-e-jay.
To leave off,	Caw'billy.
To make less noise,	Caw' billy māgunna.
You make too much noise,	Kah-pa, magua'nar.
What is the palaver?	Karka, māgunna.
Everything,	Al'zēekee.
What do you call that?	Wossanan'see.
What is the piece?	Now'ar.
Anything that has a cover,	Mol'lifar.
Ground, (earth),	Kas'sah.
Person,	Nemijee.
Small,	Ken'canny.
Hear, listen,	Thee.
Do you hear?	Kazhee.
War,	Yiky.
Plenty,	Taile.
Heavy,	No'ye.
Moscketo,	Som'lo.
Dumb,	Baibee.
Blind,	Markoffoo.
Lame,	Goolgu.
Deaf,	Croo'mah.
Here it is,	Gash'-ee.
Other,	Won'ga.

English.	Houssa.
Gave,	Bar'nee.
Wind,	Iska.
Alive, life,	Dērigh.
Truth,	Gaskere.
Falsehood,	Ka'reēr.
A long way,	Tchan.
Fire,	Woota.
Cry,	Cook'a.
To laugh,	Dar'rēah.
To cut,	Sar'rah.
To run away,	Goo'deo.
Ran,	Goo'doo.
Strong,	Cur'rāfee.
To come in, on board,	See'gah.
To move,	Owkee.
Dear,	Tcha'dda.
Christian,	Nas'sarri.
Unbeliever,	Kāfra.
Patience,	An'cole.
Welcome,	Marriba, or mirher ry.
Close, near,	Coosa.
Some there,	Dishee.
To empty the bowels,	Carsee.
To tie,	Dum'be.
Tie it tight,	Dumby-shee.
White man,	Tu'ra'war.
Master,	Boot'rai, Babbah.
To dance,	Row'ar.
Dancing,	Ar'row'ar.
Got it,	Adishee.
Full,	Tchěeka.
Able, can,	Yee'ah.
Can you?	Kah, yee'ah.
All,	Du'ca.
Angry,	Poo'see.
Dried,	Kha-kessy
To send,	Ee-kaye.

English.	Houssa.
Out (as gone out),	Phittah.
To split, or broken,	Pāsee.
Fell, fall, fallen,	Foo'ar'dee.
Rise,	Gaf'rah.
Let me pass,	Gaf'rah.
God restore your strength,	Al'lah se qu'ray chewaiv.
Decayed, spoiled,	Bart'chēe.
Very true, certainly,	Gaskere, mi'ner.
Is the water boiling?	Roa' ana ta'passah.
Provisions, victuals,	Abin'chū.
Brought it,	Coo'madishy.
Easy,	San'nuh.
Little,	Ka-dang.
Large,	Ba'bah.
Boil,	Ta'passah.
Have you got any of this?	Ac'quay abin yar'nah.
There is some,	Ac'quay yar'nah.
Some place,	Wornā woolla.
Perfectly well,	La'fear loo.
Anything,	Abin worney.
What is your name?	Ar'nu sue' nanka.
Name of anything,	Sue' nanka.
To mount horse, to ride,	How' dokey.
To spare,	Bac'cah.
To carry,	Coo'rnah.
Me, with,	Ne,
Sand,	Lay'ree
Worn,	Sarr'shy.
To return,	Quo'rnah.
Before,	De'farre.
To rest,	Foot'a.
Under,	Cra'kessy.
Roast,	Gar'sah.
Height, size,	Ac'kah.
Tired, fatigued,	Gez'zee.
To cut,	Tar'rah.

English.	Houssa.
To kill,	Yan'kā.
Town,	Gālee.
Please,	So'h.
Son of,	Dan'sah.
To buy, purchase,	Saii.
For sale,	Saii'ăbā.
I am going to rest myself awhile,	Nahrr taffe foo'tā cur'daing.
Doing nothing,	Ban'zah.
Afraid, alarmed,	Sōru.
Daybreak,	Ga'leē arw'hy.
Crazy, mad,	Maw'ketcheĕ.
Dead,	Mootoom.
A lamp, a light,	Phit'illah.
Friend,	Aboik'ānĕe.
Ripe,	Dq'iah.
To fire,	Boo'gah.
String,	Ig'gāh.
People there,	Moutannee tchar.
Musket-ball,	Crib'boō.
To melt,	Ner'ric'kay.
To be fond of,	Sōne.
Quick, directly,	Muzza' muzza.
To listen,	Gee bar.
You can think,	Ka, duba, kigh.
Passage, road,	Too'rib'ah.
To keep it in remembrance,	Sahr'chicken ac kienka.
Profit, gain,	Ribbā.
Is that all?	Du'cā ki nan.
How many cowries?	Courdee nour.
It 's too dear,	Yahr' payr, tcha'ddāh.
You can let it stop, or be,	Kah'billy te'coonăh.
There is some,	Shin'an'ăh.
Have you any?	Kōkan adīshee.
I have not any,	Bar'nee dēs'hee.
Do you understand?	Ca'zhee, and ba'rkkāq'ebar.
How much will you give?	Nour kah say.

English.	Houssa.
How much did you pay for it?	Kah say nour.
Who did this?	Wen'nee eye ee.
It 's burnt,	Cooney.
Wood-ashes,	To'kār.
A door,	Ko'par.
Don't you speak of it, or tell it again,	Cudder ka peedi.
Keep it secret,	Boo'wāy.
I am going to my friend's house,	Nahr tuffi aboik'ee nce gid'da.
Make a fire,	Sahr woo'ta.
Another day,	Sāye wha'tr ran'a.
Outside the house,	Buy'in gid'da.
Done eating,	Wan'y-a-ch'e.
Forget it,	Man'chē.
He has made profit,	Yā ch¯e rib'ba.
I have gained,	Nahr ch¯e rib'ba.
To tremble, shake,	Row'ah.
To cry,	Cook'ar¯.
To play,	Was'sā.
Father or mother-in-law,	Hoōbar mat'tar'nee.
A gentleman,	Sur'rikee.
Fat,	Mī.
Saddle,	Syr'rid'dee.
Mortar,	Too'lăm¯ee.
Pestle,	Tunibā reer.
Coarse, not fine,	Goo'dā gee.
It smells,	Du' āye.
To bathe,	Wa'uk'ka.
She has been brought to bed,	Yi ee pāye.
Elephant's tail,	Woo'tchia ge'waw.
What are the news in town?	Kacka ma'qunna gālee.
Don't you buy it,	Cudder ka saye.
Fish-hook,	Cru'ge'ăh.
It's all done, or quite finished,	Yah-cāry.
It 's a long time,	Yahr dai'dee.
These are enemies,	Mōosu 'yiki.

English.	Houssa.
They want to fight,	Shinna sophad'dah.
I do not understand you,	Bar' gēbār.
I understand you,	Nahr je.
I do not see it,	Nar gannabar.
Let us go,	Zo' moo tuffie.
A long time,	Day, daii.
A hunter,	Mar'rib'bee.
To go a-shooting,	Pōorŭtah.
To dig,	Gin'nah,
To keep it to breed,	Ye' rewōr.
Yearly custom for the dead,	Mo'cok'kee.
Deep,	Tū riffe.
Smoke,	A'yan'kee.
To sing,	War'ka.
Landing-place, water-side,	Khaf'fee.
River,	Goorib'bee.
Dust,	Coo'ra'hee.
On the other side the water it is very deep,	Woolee inday shoa ya'hee zū-riffee.
Eunuch,	Gar're'faddah.
Cough,	Tărlee.
To sneeze,	Tchaw'ah.
Cloudy, atmosphere thick,	Ada'irey, yat gam'mucco.
What place are you from?	Karfittah wornee woollee.
To be quiet,	Kooloom.
It is mildewed,	Yah tcham.
Are you coming here?	Kah zo anna,
It is very sweet,	Yā ee zi'ky.
High, height,	Gill'mar.
Bitch,	Pricka.
Ants,	Tchin'nā'cka.
Cock, fowl,	Zac'ca'rer.
An island,	Gongo.
Blood,	Gy'nee.
A present, (gift,)	Kowtah.
To vomit,	Ar'mīgh.

English.	Houssa.
Crack, or cracked, to break.	
To scrape, to clean,	Ken'cray.
To scratch,	Soo'sah.
Have you spoken about it?	Yahr peedy meesah co.
To teach,	Gwarda.
Pity,	Tōsaye.
Delicious, sweet,	Tar'ky.
His or her aunt,	E'wan'su.
My mistress,	E'won'er.
My aunt or cousin,	E'won'tah.
To mix,	Darmah.
Bone,	Kes'see.
Fish-bone,	Karcis'suah.
Skull,	Far'tchu.
Mule,	Al'lijohad'derah, and tchim tchum.
Little,	Sim'sim.
Fiddle,	Go'jay.
Bullock's horn,	Cuppō.
Bees,	
Wax,	Do'anco.
Broom,	Tchu'chiah.
Maggots,	Tchu'sah.
To quarrel,	Goo'na,
Pray,	A'ddūā'h.
Church,	Mas'sā'rītchee.
To mourn,	Mo'cokee.
Leaf of a tree,	Gayn'ya.
Long,	Dōgo.
Short,	Kedg'eru.
Fathom,	Gub'ba.
Debt,	Bas'see.
Itch,	Ka'kaye.
Cockroach,	Kinkiss-so.
Rat,	Jubba, or coosa.
Yaws,	Tooza'ree.
Murder,	Mimmiyah.

English.	Houssa.
Married,	Am'ma'reer.
Bow and arrow,	Ke'feer.
Spear,	Kacipsuah.
Brave,	Ye'wah.
Wrong,	Rafia.
Forehead,	Gărar.
Arm,	Da'mer'richy.
Whore,	Sack'ā'ree.
Any one,	Cōma nimy.
Come here, on this side,	Cōma nan'ah.
Is it clean, very good?	Sheēnăh de kow.
Good morning,	Se'nōokaday.
Thank God,	A goordie Allah.
How do you do?	Cornula fere.
Very well, thank you,	Si la fiere.

English.	Eboe.	Felatah, Foōlăh, or Félarney.
1	O fu,	Gōh.
2	Ab'boar,	Did'dee.
3	Atto,	Tat'tie.
4	An'no,	Ni.
4	E'sa,	Jo'wy.
6	E'see,	Jo'ago.
7	As'sa,	Jo ar did'ee.
8	As'sato,	Jo' tackie.
9	Ten'nā'ny,	Jo'ar ni.
10	E'ree,	Sap'po.
11	E'reenofu,	Sap'po gōh.
12	E'reenaboa,	Sap'po did'ee.
13	Eree'atto,	Sap'po tat'tie.
20	O' su,	Sasso.
21	O' su ōfŭ,	Sasso gōh.
30	O'su ēree,	Sasso in sappo.
40	Ag'go'nabo,	Sasso in did'ee sappo.

English.	Eboe.	Felatah, Foōlăh, or Fēlarney.
60	Ag'goano,	Sasso e tachie.
70		Sasso e tachie.
80	Eg'goano,	Sasso e ni.
90	Eg'go'ā noiaree,	Sasso e ni sap'po.
100	Eg'goo'ēsee,	Sasso ejoa.
200	Eg'gooēre,	Cama de'dēe.
300	Eg'go'onēresee,	Cama tachie.
400	Oc'cūkŭarto,	Cama ni.
500		Cama jow'ee.
1000		Cama jā'go.

English.	Nufie or Nūpāysee.	English.	Nufie or Nūpāysee.
1	Wor'nce.	30	Ah'ban'wo.
2	O'gu'bar.	35	Airyeedee.
3	O'gu'tar.	40	Wosebar.
4	O'gwin'ee.	45	Wosebar ogūsuma.
5	O'goo'tso.	50	Alatar.
6	O'goosu'īee.	55	Alatar ogūsuma.
7	O'gootwa'bee.	60	Woshēctar.
8	O'gootu'tar.	70	Woshetar borqua'nee.
9	O'gootwa'rne.	80	Woshenee.
10	O'quo.	90	Woshenee oquo.
11	O'qu'ohwornee.	100	Woshecsoh.
15	Woi'gee.	200	Bouquo.
20	Woshee.		

English.	Nufie.
Man,	Ez'za.
Woman,	Am'ee.
Boy,	Ed'go con'gee.
Girl,	Ya'wo.
Hair,	Goo'quo.
Head,	At'ee.
Eye,	Ay'ee.

English.	Nufie.
Nose,	Ay'ee.
Mouth,	Am'ceō.
Chin,	Nu'kbia.
Lips,	Em'ee.
Neck,	Bas'su.
Breast,	Knarker.
Chest,	Gab'ba.
Abdomen,	A'eita.
Thigh,	Dondooko.
Leg,	Bish'ee.
Knee,	Foak'ba.
Foot,	Bee'she' kem'pah.
Shoes, or sandals,	Hep'par.
Dog,	Ash'ee.
Elephant,	E'kodagbah.
Tooth,	E'ko.
To wash,	How'knō.
Boiling water,	Nuā hepar.
Three days,	Sup bi zhe.
Medicine,	Shig'by.
Sword,	Ebuquo.
How do you do?	How ku belargee.
Doctor,	Ecc'ku'chig'by.
Vagina,	Googuo.
Penis,	Ebba.

English.	Felatah.
Man,	Leedī'nee.
Woman,	Deb'bo.
Boy,	Sūkā'rbee.
Girl,	Sukal'too'cus'se.
Head,	Hōree.
Eye,	Gitt'a.
Lips,	Onooko.
Neck,	Darn'dee.
Breast,	En'dee.

English.	Felatah.
Chest,	Gub'bar'ree.
Abdomen,	Hay'doo.
Thigh,	Dongo.
Leg,	Barnd'ygangel.
Knee,	Quo'pee.
Foot,	Ta'pery.
Shoes, or sandals,	Paddie.
Doctor,	Lamedo Siki.
Upper arm,	Doo'bee.
Lower arm,	Gam'sar'ree.
Fingers,	Ko'lee.
Hand,	Ta'per'a.
Ear,	No'ru.
Tobe,	Tag'goree.
Trousers,	Sallah.
Riding shoes,	Ka'ba'gee.
Horse,	Pu'chu.
Bridle,	La'gum'ma.
Penis,	Allaree.
Scrotum,	Jockie.
Beard,	War'ree, or saqeeri.
House,	Sudu.
Come,	Warrit.
Give,	Oc'cōmee.
Sit down,	Jōdee.
Wood,	La'kee.
Jackass,	Sac'kie.
Thank you,	Bā'rley jum.

English.	Eboe.
Man,	Maddo.
Woman,	O'yee yee.
Boy,	Hoo'whatter.
Girl,	In'butter.
Hair,	Ag'geeshe.
Head,	Hee'see.

English.	Eboe.
Eye,	Juyā.
Nose,	E'mee.
Mouth,	O'no.
Chin,	Ab'ba.
Lips,	E'toōkarano.
Neck,	O'nu.
Breast,	Ar'rah.
Chest,	Obu.
Abdomen,	Na'rfo.
Thigh,	Obonobro.
Leg,	Af'funko.
Knee,	Inbōrrōco.
Foot,	Ab'bo'boko.
Elephant,	Eŭye.
Tooth,	Or'doo.
Sword,	O'pece.
Doctor,	Hā'geeoko, and de'bero.
Penis,	Ah'imer.
Upper arm,	Hab'bracka.
Lower arm,	Hoo'brecka.
Fingers,	Bish'ee'ecka.
Hand,	Hob'bube'ecka.
Trousers,	Hawor'bafēanko.
Scrotum,	Hoo'bratnoh.
Beard,	Affornu.
House,	Hoo'no.
Shoulder,	Hu'cōobee.
Canoe,	Hoo'bo.
Paddles,	Aw'arah.
Yams,	E'gee.
Goat,	Ha'woo.
Sheep,	Eb'bonu.
Bullocks,	Ha'fee.
Trees,	Oshee'she.
Water,	Meooce.
Fowls,	How'quōkuku.
Gun,	Egg'bee.

English.	Eboe.
Pistol,	Egg'bina-rbe.
Come,	Bere.
Go,	Ja.
Stop,	Nod'dy.
There,	Na' nee.
King,	Hay'gee, or Obie.
Wood,	Oorico.
White man,	O' Eboe.
He says,	Os osay.
Cap,	Ok'bu.
Knife,	O'g a-ry.
Red,	O'buer.
Cloth,	Ac'qua.
Bason and plate,	E'ffere.
Sky,	Ennu'quay.
Sun,	Ha'wo.
Moon,	O'wa-h.
Star,	Badbunda.
Palm-oil, ..	O'fee'gbo.
Box,	Har'bat.
Alligator,	Ag-gwe.
Bird,	Eno'no.
Fire,	How'ko.
Smoak,	Ou' go roko.
Pipe,	Howquot'erber.
Tobacco,	Ah'ta'bber.
Snuff-box,	Ac'bay.
Egg,	Egg'wa.
Fish,	Az'zu.
Mat (Nufie),	Ag'gary.
Mat (common),	Affe'cka.
Leopard,	Ari'umbo.
Medicine,	O'go.
Ship,	Oo'gbar.

English.	Kacundah, or Shabbee.
I am going,	Man'shie.
To drink,	Foo.
Will you?	Whar
Calebash,	Eo'oh.
Water,	E'ree.
Courdie,	Aggary.
Pistol,	Soubow'wu.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,
Dorset Street, Fleet Street.

MAY 1971

WESBY

3 2044 019 379 429

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED THE COST OF OVERDUE NOTIFICATION IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW.

WIDENER
MAY 13 1997
WIDENER
MAY 14 1997
CANCELLED
BOOK DUE

OCT 26 1976

WIDENER
JAN 17 1999
NOV 12 1998
BOOK DUE
BOOK DUE

WIDENER
JAN 17 1999
BOOK DUE
CANCELLED

WIDENER
JAN 17 1999
DEC 16 1998
BOOK DUE
BOOK DUE

WIDENER
WIDENER
MAY 27 1999
CANCELLED
BOOK DUE